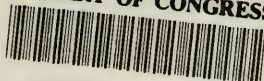


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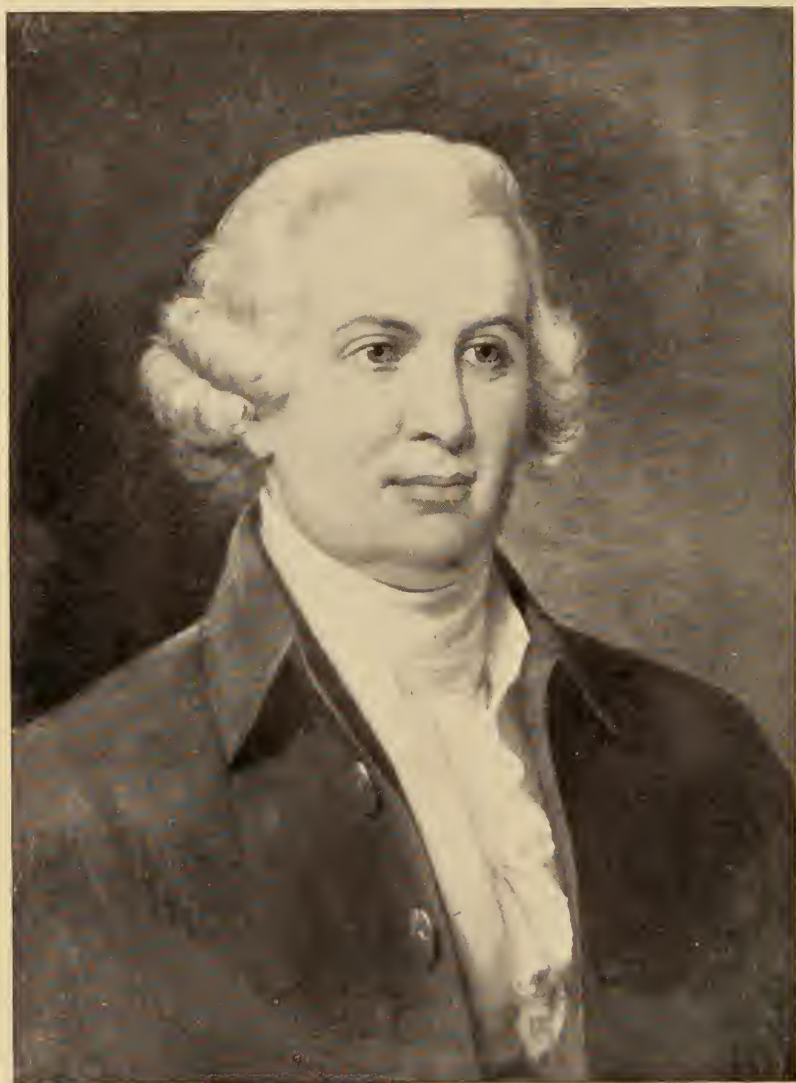
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WILLIAM HOOPER,
SIGNER OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

HOPPER, HOPER, HOOPEK, EDENMOUTH, PARISH OF EDNAM, NEAR KELS0, SCOTLAND.

Robert (m) Mary Jaffray, Aug. 2nd, 1892.

Elizabeth b. 1693.	Robert b. 1694.	Elspeitt b. 1695.	Margaret b. 1698.	William b. 1699, died infant	William (Rev. Wm. Hooper, of Boston.) b. 1704. (m) Mary Dennie.
William (Signer). (m) Anne Clark	John	George	(m) Catharine MacLaine.	Mary (m) Mr. Spence.	Thomas. (m) Miss McKensie of S. C. d. s. p.
William (m) Helen Hooper	Thomas died unmarried	Elizabeth (m) Henry Watters	Archibald MacLaine (m) Charlotte DeBerniere	Mary H. (m) Mr. Flemming	
Rev. Wm. Hooper (m) Fanny P. Jones	James (m) M. Broadfoot	Thomas (m) E. Donaldson	Henry died unmarried d. s. p.	George D. (m) Caroline Mallett	Prof. J. DeBerniere (m) J. J. Roberts Johnston J. (m) Mary Bradford
William W. M. D.	Edward M. D.	Mary E. (m) Prof. J. DeB. Hooper.	Joseph C.	Thomas C.	DuRonceau J. unmarried d. s. p.
Helen DeBerniere (m) James Wills.	Fanny DeBerniere (m) Spier Whitaker.	Henry DeBerniere (m) Jessie Wright	Julia Charlotte (m) R. H. Graves.		



ADDRESS

BY

EDWIN A. ALDERMAN,
Professor in the University of North Carolina.

ON THE LIFE OF

WILLIAM HOOPER,

“The Prophet of American Independence.”

GUILFORD BATTLE GROUND,
JULY 4, 1894.

Published by the Guilford Battle Ground Company.

ISSUED FROM THE UNIVERSITY PRESS,
Chapel Hill, N. C.

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MY COUNTRYMEN :

There is no higher duty devolving upon faithful States than to preserve freshly the memory of their great events and their noble men. And it is not simply a duty. It is a condition of national greatness and the sublimest evidence of the moral energy latent in democratic communities. The most splendid manifestation of the awakening of historical self-respect in North Carolina, and of new-born pride in her heroic past is this scene before our eyes—these upturned faces with the unspoken music of liberty on their lips; this lovely landscape filled with the glory of midsummer; these votive stones crowning hill-top and valley, marking the rescue of a great American battle-field from the silent forest; this transformation, by patriotic energy, of an unkempt wilderness into a grand Pantheon for our honored dead more impressive than the marble memorials of Greece and Rome because its roof is the arch of the sky, and its pillars these stately oaks that sweep the upper air.

It is no slight thing to have such a spot as this in the borders of a State. Here our fathers dared to die that we, their children, might be free. Here amid the uproar of battle, the course of human history received moulding and direction. The lofty, majestic charm which invests the Thermopylæ, the Waterloos, the Yorktowns and Bunker Hills—all spots where human freedom has made a stand—is beginning to settle over this lovely plain where our embattled farmers stood. Let us be glad that our people are coming hither more and more, from far and near, to spend their hours of rest and freedom from care and work. Let them come, the

old man in his weakness, the youth in his strength, and the young child standing upon the lintels of life, and be lifted up by the memories, the associations, the sights of this sacred ground into nobler ambition, purer zeal and more unselfish consecration to that goodly heritage given us by the Lord God, and pledged to civilization by the lives, the fortunes and the sacred honor of an heroic ancestry!

For seven years the anniversary of our great National Festival has been celebrated here with much display of patriotic enthusiasm and martial pomp. Heretofore, the learned and distinguished men who have preceded me in the gracious duties of this hour have had for a theme some brave North Carolinian who illustrated her valor and devotion in arms. To-day, for the first time, we meet to tell the story of a civic hero, to witness the inauguration of a monument to him and his colleagues, and to recount faithfully the life and character of one whose clear, bold signature to the Declaration of American Independence enrolls the name of William Hooper forever among the founders of this republic.

The Hooper family is an ancient and honorable one in English and Scotch annals. In Fox's Book of Martyrs one may read how on the 9th of February, 1555, John Hooper, Lord Bishop of Worcester and Gloucester, suffered martyrdom near the doors of his own cathedral. The brave old martyr was one of a numerous family of Hoopers who had been settled in Somersetshire since the reign of Edward, the First. They were in many instances tenants of the Priory of Montacute and priests of that foundation. In the troublesome days that followed the accession of Mary and the Martyrdom of Bishop Hooper, the Hoopers of Wiltshire, a shire contiguous to Somerset, migrated to the bor-

ders of Scotland The name until the time of William Hooper of Boston, was spelled Hoper, Hopper, Hopper. The martyr-bishop signed his name "John Hoper" in the dedication of his works to the Duke of Somerset. The Hoopers were long settled at Stitchell, a town in Berwick, Scotland, and seem to have migrated from that point to different places in the neighborhood. There lies before me a photograph of a quaint old monument outside the chancel of Stitchell* church, known as the "Hooper Stone." The inscription is incomplete, but one may still decipher on the upper slab some names and figures and this triumphant sentiment:

Vita mihi mortis mors
Vitae janua facta est.

The first one of the name whom we can find is Robert Hooper, A. M., of Nether Stitchell, who died in 1596, leaving seven children. There is a record of his son and heir, Robert, and then the registers are lost until there appears again the name of Robert Hooper. The Rev. William Hooper of Boston, the founder of the American branch of the family, was the third and youngest child of this Robertus Hopperus, as his name is written when he takes his degree of A. M. at Edinburgh, and Mary Jaffray, his wife, who were married August 2, 1692.

He was born in the village of Edenmouth—a farm at the junction of the Eden with the Tweed—Parish of Ednam near Kelso, Scotland, in the year 1704; took his Master of Arts degree at Edinburgh in 1723; became a Presbyterian minister in Scotland;

* See Appendix for genealogical chart of Hooper family;

came to America, settled in Boston and was the first pastor of the West Congregationalist Church from 1737 to 1747, and of Trinity Church from 1747 to 1767, the year of his death. His sudden secession from the Congregational Church after nine years of service, and entrance into the Episcopal Church, surprised and grieved his congregation, and no doubt produced some asperities in those days of dogmatic severity. The truth seems to be that Hooper outgrew the stern puritanic creed of the day, and wished to preach a more liberal conception of the divine attributes. Dr. Bartol, one of his successors in the West Church, from which he seceded, speaks with great feeling of Hooper and his character:* "I claim not Hooper as one of the great reformers who are voices in the wilderness of the ages, but I do rank him in the class of intellectual and religious pioneers. He had a nature whose first necessity, like that of all great natures, was conformity between its thought and actions." The late Bishop Phillips Brooks, before his elevation to the episcopate, one of Hooper's successors in the rectorship of Trinity Church, wrote of him as follows: "The Rev. Willam Hooper had been pastor of the West Congregational Church since it was formed in 1737. Suddenly in 1847 he became an Episcopalian. He had been beloved and honored, and everybody was taken by surprise. At once the proprietors of Trinity Church chose him to be their Rector and he went to England for orders. He retained his parish twenty years, and then died suddenly while walking in his garden. He changed partly because of the argument for Episcopacy, but mainly because of the more liberal

* "West Church and its ministers," p. 67. Boston, 1856.

theology. It does not seem strange to us that our second Rector was father of one of the signers of the Declaration."

The Episcopal Orders of the Rev. Wm. Hooper still exist, much mutilated, as may be seen, but legible. The original document is now in the possession of Mr. James Hooper, of Wilmington, N. C., is dated June, 1747, and reads as follows :

<p>By Divine po that on year of Ou before in the Alm awarding beloved to the H Right Rev us his exam to his age the Oaths required to b there duly and nominally ordain him Priest.</p>	<p>or of these presents. We Martin, by Glocester do make it known unto all men f June (being Tuesday in Whitsun-Week) in the and seven hundred and forty-seven, We the Bishop administring Holy Orders under the protection of f Chapel of St. James in Westminster did ceremonies of the Church of England admit Our m Hooper, M. A., of Boston in New England ests he being well recommended to Us by our Edmund Lord Bishop of London who certified to probation of the said William Hooper in regard ng and Title and having first before us taken the Articles which are in this case by Laws and subscribed—and that We did then and In Testimony whereof We have used Our Episcopal Seal to be hereunto affixed. Dated the Day and Year aforesaid, and in the Thirteenth Year of our Consecration.</p>
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M. [SEAL] GLOCESTER.

The Rev. William Hooper married Mary Dennie, daughter of John Dennie, an eminent Boston merchant. His will mentions five children, William, John, George, Mary, and Thomas as the result of this union, three of whom, William, the eldest, George and Thomas came South. George settled in Wilmington, married Catherine MacLaine, daughter of Archibald MacLaine, an eminent lawyer and patroit of his day, and became the father of Archibald MacLaine Hooper, and

grandfather of the late John DeBerniere Hooper of the University of North Carolina, an eminent and accomplished scholar.*

Mrs. Ralph H. Graves of Chapel Hill, owns a handsome oil painting of this stout-hearted old man, who did not hesitate in an age of great polemic rigor, to declare for independence of opinion and freedom of conscience as his son did later for freedom in forms of government. It is a strong, beautiful face, marked by lines of power and benignity.

William Hooper, whose life and services it is our purpose to investigate, was born in Boston, Massachusetts June 17, 1742. There was then no foreboding of the coming storm. The thirteen colonies were the most loyal dependencies of the English Crown, and the colonists read English books, talked English gossip, flushed with pride at the achievements of English prowess and proudly recounted the muniments of English freedom. The ties of a common ancestry, a common religion, a common pride of race, a common language, common political traditions, and a common share in the memories of the past and the hopes of the future bound the infant colonies to the fatherland. Boston, at his birth, was a thriving little town of fifteen thousand inhabitants. Samuel Adams had just passed from the Harvard rostrum to the larger rostrum of the town meeting; a few miles away at Braintree, John Adams, a seven year old child, played in the fields, while in far off Virginia, Washington and Patrick Henry, the one the arm, the other the tongue of the Revolution, had not passed out of childhood.

It may be imagined that a Scotch minister would not neglect the education of his son. William Hooper

*See Appendix.

passed the first fourteen years of his life in assiduous devotion to study, seven years under his father and seven years at the Boston Latin School, presided over by John Lovel, the most celebrated school master of his day. In 1757 at the age of fifteen he entered the Sophomore class at Harvard College, a delicate, nervous, beautiful youth, spurred on to academic honors by his father's pitiless Scotch enthusiasm for learning. The Harvard records of that day are quite fragmentary and chiefly concerned with questions of punishment and discipline. The infrequent appearance of Hooper's name on this criminal docket is, at least, *prima facie* evidence of the blamelessness of his college life. There are only two records concerning him upon the books of Harvard College, viz:

"July 13th, 1757. Voted to examine Rev. Mr. Hooper's son to be admitted to the second year."

"Oct, 7th. 1757, Hooper placed in Sophomore Year to take place after John Lowell."*

As a signal instance of the aristocratic spirit of the age, it may be mentioned that students then took precedence not by right of ability or scholarship or alphabetical priority, but according to the social standing of their parents, carefully determined by a committee of the Faculty. According to this arrangement, Hooper ranked eighth in a class of twenty-seven. Five years before, John Adams had ranked fourteenth in a class of twenty-four,—being, unlike Hooper, a trifle nearer the bottom than the top. Hooper was graduated in 1760 with the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and in 1763 received the degree of Master of Arts, earning the reputation of a devoted student and especially distinguishing himself

*Private letter from Wm. H. Tillinghast, Assistant Librarian of Harvard University.

in language, literature and oratory. The first Item of the Rev. William Hooper's will recites: "I give to my eldest son, William, all my Books and Manuscripts, which, with the money I expended on his education at College, will be more than I have to leave to any one of the rest of my children." The privilege of a good education, it would seem, was the only advantage of primogeniture in those days, and the father who conferred this unusual equipment upon his son considered his parental debt well discharged. The young man himself lay under a sort of moral obligation to adopt one of the professions, of law, medicine or divinity. Hooper chose law against the desire of his father, who had marked him for the ministry, and about the year 1761 entered the law-office of James Otis, the most brilliant lawyer in Massachusetts. This was the turning point in Hooper's life. It is true that when he was introduced to the bar of his native province he found it overflowing and poverty drove him to seek his fortune in a distant colony. It is also true that influential friends in the province of North Carolina induced him to settle temporarily at Wilmington on the Cape Fear in the year 1764, and that the death of his father forced him to adopt Wilmington as his permanent home. And it would seem that these unforeseen agencies were most potential in shaping his life, but I hold them not comparable in serious influence to the fact that he entered life in 1761 under the tuition of James Otis, and in the atmosphere of Boston, electric with thought of human freedom. The elder Hooper was a loyalist and a man of great force of character. William alone, of all his family, embraced the patriot cause. In the council chamber of the Old Town House in Boston, in February, 1761, James Otis made his wonderful five-hour speech—one

of the greatest speeches of modern times—against the abominable tyranny of the Writs of Assistance. Then and there was the first scene of the first act of opposition to the arbitrary claims of Great Britain in the northern colonies. “Then and there the child Independence was born.”* Then and there William Hooper became a patriot. John Adams and William Hooper, the one a young lawyer, the other a law student, stood in the chamber and listened with beating hearts to the thrilling words of the great orator, as a few years later Jefferson was to stand tip-toe in the old court room at Williamsburg and hear Patrick Henry echo Otis with tongue of flame. It is worthy of note that the preliminary scenes of the Revolution occurred in court rooms and the first voices lifted for liberty were the voices of lawyers, despising fees, heedless of the whispers of ambition, and pleading madly for abstract human right.

In the fall of 1767 when liberty was flaming like a beacon over the land, William Hooper came into our state to make his permanent home. He was in his twenty-fifth year, a son of Harvard, thrilling with the eloquence of Otis and Samuel Adams, familiar with the methods of the town meeting, happy in the choice of his home, blessed with youth and vigor in the brilliant dawn of a revolutionary era.

Bliss it was in that dawn to be alive
But to be young was Heaven.

North Carolina had known one hundred years of stormy political existence at the hour of his coming. It cannot be said that the State had been founded by any-

*John Adams.

body. It had founded itself, and had grown into the sisterhood of colonies from a few scattered families on the Albemarle, sternly fighting the cruel savages on the one hand and as sternly resisting on the other, the rapacity and cupidity of proprietary governors. Two hundred and fifty thousand people then occupied the territory between the mouths of the Cape Fear, the Chowan, the Neuse, and the head waters of the Catawba and the Yadkin. It was a composite population, embracing the strongest strains of many stocks and uniting every type of race, character and every shade of political belief in northern and western Europe—the Teuton, the Celt, the Saxon. Men of English birth, and breeding searching for good “bottom lands” came over from Virginia and seated themselves along the Tar, the Albermarle, and the Neuse. The sturdy Scotch-Irish had been pouring over the mountains from Pennsylvania and Virginia into the middle and Piedmont sections for a generation. West of Morganton a silent forest stretched away to the Smoky mountains, where later, Daniel Boone, bearing civilization westward, was to wander like some hero out of mythology. Six straggling hamlets, Wilmington, Newbern, Edenton, Hillsboro, Halifax and Salisbury, ranging in population from seven hundred downward, had reached the dignity of boroughs. It was an agricultural community and therefore simple, pure and poor. The absence of the newspaper and the universal presence of abominable roads accentuated racial differences, and the wealthy, educated dweller on the coast, the shrewd landowner in the lowlands, the sturdy Germanic individualities of the middle country, the isolated pioneers of the pine forests had not yet

been fused even into partial unity by the cohesive energy of war and invasion.

Many scholarly men like John Fiske and James Gilmore and Henry Cabot Lodge have sneered at and belittled this first century of North Carolina history. Those sneers will stand between them and high historical fame in days to come. They will have to bear the reproach of having missed the thread of political development in the sturdiest and freest commonwealth in North America. The key to North Carolina character in this inchoate period is the subordination of everything—material prosperity, personal ease, financial development—to the remorseless assertion of the sacredness of chartered rights against the insolent and greedy encroachments of the carpet-bag-proconsuls of the proprietary and royal governments. Something of the frenzied berserker rage and wild, dauntless individuality of their barbarian forefathers shouting along the frontiers of imperial Rome, manifested itself in the ruthless ease with which the early Carolinians arose and set aside a tyrannical ruler, laughed in his baffled face and accounted his threats and the mutterings of his masters across the seas as of no more import than the complaints of a "ballad singer." Our pre-revolutionary history is one long schooling against unjust oppression. If, in their remoteness and isolation, our ancestors ever strayed into lawlessness, it was the light struck from violated law by the mailed hand of oppression that lead them astray. In the year 1678 when a few families were struggling into a consciousness of statehood along the wide waters of our eastern sounds they submitted this sentiment, worthy of a place in the very heart of Magna Charta, to an oppressive governor. "The doctrine of non-resist-

ance against arbitrary power and oppression is absurd, slavish and destructive to the good and happiness of mankind.”* As early as 1716, when the colony had been in existence barely fifty years, and the population all told, young and old, men and women, black and white, was only eight thousand, when the Neuse was the frontier and the Cape Fear a howling wilderness, they entered upon the Journals of their Assembly in so many words, the formal declaration “that the impressing of the inhabitants or their property under pretense of its being for the public service, without authority from the Assembly, was unwarrantable and a great infringement of the liberty of the subject.”† As late as 1760 the Assembly formally declared that it was the indubitable right of the Assembly to frame and model every bill whereby aid was granted to the King, and that every attempt to deprive them of the enjoyment thereof was an infringement of the rights and privileges of the Assembly.‡ And in November, 1764, “taking into consideration His Excellency’s speech,” in which he had asserted prerogative very strongly, and in reply thereto, the Assembly entered upon its Journal a peremptory order that the Treasurer should not pay out any money by order of the Governor and the Council without the concurrence of the Assembly.§ Five times before the storm of revolution swept over the state, in the Rent trouble, the Legislative Representation trouble, the Granville District trouble, or the Enfield riots as they were called, the Stamp Act trouble and the War of the Regulation, the self-willed

*Colonial Records Vol, IX. p. II. Prefatory Notes.

†Lessons from Colonial Records. Wm. L. Saunders, p. 7.

‡Ibid

§Ibid.

and power-hating lawyers and farmers of North Carolina had anticipated Bunker Hill, Lexington and their own Mecklenburg in their willingness to die in behalf of the abstract idea of local self-government. Their motives were not commercial. No ships rotted in their harbors, they had no manufactures to languish, no carrying trade to be ruined. Their conduct was simply a pure and priceless demonstration of the political genius and self-governing passion of the Anglo-Saxon race.

There was no room then for missionary work on the Cape Fear when William Hooper cast in his fortunes with her defiant sons. They were already rebels by habit and descent, and had already made bonfires of stamped paper, intimidated stamp masters and governors and offered armed resistance to British force.* Cornelius Harnett and Samuel Adams were kindred spirits and John Ashe and James Otis had both thundered the doctrine of "resistance to blood and death."

In the six years intervening between his permanent settlement in Wilmington and his entrance into public life, Hooper endeared himself by his natural grace of manner and easy wit to the unusual group of strong, bright hospitable lawyers and planters seated about Wilmington and Brunswick. Wilmington was a village to be proud of in the youth of a new civilization, when men have sterner things to do than to cultivate art and letters. Its commerce with the West Indies in naval stores, rice and indigo was considerable. Along the eastern and western branches of the Cape Fear lived men of fortune and education connected by blood, owning slaves and living the semi-feudal life of the time.

And they were not mere jovial, unlettered planters

* "A Colonial Officer," pp. 87-89. Waddell. Wilmington.

engrossed in the pleasures of the chase and the field. They had established a small library in the little village, and in their own homes, brought over from England, were the works of Dryden and Pope and Johnson and Addison—side by side with those of Fielding, Richardson and Smollett. We may not doubt that Hooper both extended and partook of the somewhat excessive hospitality of the region, for it was a fun-loving age. A lawyer, especially a married lawyer away from home, would ride ten miles out of his way and swim a stream to reach a dance, and court weeks in Wilmington were sometimes signalized by ten consecutive balls, and by much consumption of Jamaica rum. But amidst all this gallantry and ceremonious merry-making, the young Boston lawyer did not forego the serious side of life. He laid well and thoroughly the foundations of his professional reputation. We find him early in his career riding one hundred and eighty miles on horse back* to attend the courts in the interior, measuring swords with Maurice Moore in New Hanover,† and fighting Abner Nash and a number of strong lawyers in Halifax in the celebrated cause of the heirs of Governor Dobbs against Nash, who had married the widow of that amorous old gentleman.‡

It is no discredit to William Hooper—as it is none to Maurice Moore and to the knightliest soldier of the colony, Hugh Waddell,—to record that in 1770 he warmly aided the government in suppressing the insurgents who were known by the name of the Regulators. The

* Wm. H. Hill owned the first four horse coach in New Hanover county. Iredell's Life and Letters.

† State v. McGafford. A master had murdered his slave. Hooper appeared for defendant.

‡ In Halifax Court. A. M. Hooper.

isolation, the difference in the condition of the sections, and the game of diplomacy between Tryon and the eastern leaders prevented those men from seeing that the men of Orange and Guilford were pioneers in the holy war for freedom, toward which they themselves were surely tending.* They saw only the frenzy and passion of maddened men defying established law, and heard only the blatant voice of the demagogue and extremist who play about every great movement. That such men rode to war with Tryon, or gave advice in council against the harried farmers of the middle counties, is the best evidence we could have of the absence of those cohesive elements in our colonial life, by which diverse peoples and interests are welded into unity and homogeneity.

William Hooper, after six years' residence in the colony, entered public life in 1773 as a member from Cambellton of the General Assembly which met at Newbern January 25, 1773, and continued in session forty-two days.† For the first time he was thrown into close official connection with Samuel Johnston, John Harvey, Richard Caswell, Allen Jones, John Ashe, Francis Nash and those who were destined to be our revolutionary leaders. Josiah Martin, the last royal governor of this province, was at the head of affairs. The general acts of British aggression all over the continent were, for the moment, lost sight of, and North Carolina was engaged in a furious struggle over the enactment of a new court law to succeed the Tryon Act, just expired. The issue, briefly, was this: the governor of North Carolina, the authorities

* Colonial Records, Vol. VIII, p. III.

† Mr. Hooper received 20 l. 5 s. and 8 d. for his services. Col. Rec., V. 9, p. 587.

in England and the English merchants wished to do business and own property here without being subject to our laws. The North Carolina Assembly, representing the creditors of British merchants, were fighting to secure the right to proceed by attachment against the property of debtors who had never been in the province, or who had fled from their debts. It is not within the scope of this address to narrate the details of the struggle. It was the last irritating act of English economic cupidity, directed against her infant colony, and around it raged the fire of debate for the three sessions of the Assembly which met in Newbern January 25, 1773, December 4, 1773 and March 2, 1774, consuming in its discussion eighty-seven legislative days. The Assembly was unyielding, Martin obeyed his instructions like a martinet, all compromise failed, and the result was that there were no courts in North Carolina from March 30, 1774 until after North Carolina had become a sovereign State, in 1777. William Hooper took a foremost part in the deliberations of all of these sessions,—being a member of the last two with John Ashe, from the County of New Hanover. He was placed on the fourteen most important committees of these Assemblies,* formed, prepared and read the address in reply to the Governor's speech in both Assemblies, and in addition to much local effort, procured the passage of the bill to prevent the wilful and malicious killing of slaves,† and the bill to relieve insolvent debtors with respect to imprisonment of their persons. Hooper was the writer of these bodies. Harvey and Harnet were readier with their tongues

* See Appendix for list of Committees.

† He always exhibited considerable interest in the condition of the slave.

than with their pens, and we may be sure the fluent young scholar gladly seized the opportunity to formulate their swift thoughts. Hooper also carried his literary activity outside of legislative halls, and though the failure of the court bills deprived him of his only source of income, justified their defeat in the once celebrated Hampden essays, which profoundly impressed his contemporaries but have not come down to us. Amid the noisy tumult over the court bill, the Assembly of December, 1774 stepped aside on December 8, and did its most far-reaching act, in the appointment of nine persons to constitute a standing committee of Correspondence and Inquiry, whose duty it should be to obtain the earliest and most authentic intelligence of all acts and resolutions of the British Parliament relating to the colonies, and to maintain and keep up a correspondence with our sister colonies respecting all important considerations. William Hooper was the fourth name on this committee, preceded by John Harvey, Robert Howe and Cornelius Harnett.* This was by far the most important step that preceded independence. It was the corner-stone of the Revolution, an invisible legislature that was always in session† and could not be dissolved. Through its silent agencies the mystic chain of sympathy uniting the colonies was completed, and every pulse-beat of Massachusetts throbbed throughout America.

It is from Josiah Quincy that we get our only glimpse of these men outside of meagre legislative proceedings. His Journal reveals them jauntily dining and wining and plotting.

* John Harvey, Robert Howe, Cornelius Harnett, William Hooper, Richard Caswell, Edward Vail, John Ashe, Joseph Hewes, Samuel Johnston. "Jones's Defence," p. 98.

† John Fiske, "War for Independence," p- 79.

“March 29th, (1773). Dined at Dr. Thomas Cobham’s in company with Harnett, Hooper and others.

March 30th: Dined with about twenty at Mr. William Hooper’s—find him apparently in the Whig interest—has taken their side in the House etc.

Spent the night at Mr. Harnett’s—the Samuel Adams of North Carolina.

The plan of Continental Correspondence highly relished, much wished for, and resolved upon as proper to be pursued.”*

In the Summer of 1774, as a result of a conference between five† pioneer patriots who did not intend that Martin should imitate Tryon, hand bills flew over North Carolina inviting the people to elect delegates to a convention for the purpose of denouncing the retaliation acts of Great Britain, and electing delegates to a Continental Congress. In midsummer, July 21 1774, we find William Hooper presiding over the meeting of the delegates from the six counties which formed the district of Wilmington, gathered together to demand the calling of this convention, to educate public sentiment, and to pronounce the cause of Boston the cause of British America.‡ And they were not content with mere words of sympathy. George William Curtis declared that the people of Pittsfield, Mass., a poor town of nine hundred inhabitants were afire with patriotism because they sent their suffering brothers in Boston six pounds, twelve shillings. How may we gauge the patriotic fervor of the little village of Wilmington, six hundred miles away, containing only six hundred in-

*Memoirs of Josiah Quincy, Col. Rec. V. 9, p. 611.

†Harvey, Johnston, Hooper, Iredell, Willie Jones. Johnston to Hooper. “Jones’s Defence,” p 124.

‡Goodloe, s “Birth of the Republic” p. 299.

habitants, sending two ship-loads of provisions and 2,000 pounds in currency?*

In one month's notice seventy members were elected and assembled in Newbern *in the first representative assembly, independent and defiant of royal authority, that ever assembled in North America.*† Bold John Harvey, with the hectic flush of approaching death on his cheek, guided the proceedings. For three days, in high debate, these seventy men censured, denounced and resolved after the stately fashion of the times; elected their continental delegates;‡ entrusted the execution of their resolves to county committees; and ended with these noble and notable resolutions:

“Resolved, That we view the attempts made by the Ministers upon the town of Boston as a prelude to a general attack upon the rights of the other Colonies, and that upon the success of this depends, in a great measure, the happiness of America in its present race and in posterity; and that therefore it becomes our duty to contribute, in proportion to our abilities, to ease the burden imposed upon that Town, for their virtuous opposition to the Revenue Acts, that they may be enabled to persist in a prudent and manly opposition to the schemes of Parliament, and render its dangerous designs abortive.

“Resolved, That Liberty is the spirit of the British Constitution, and that it is the duty, and will be the endeavor of us all, to transmit this happy Constitution to our posterity in a state, if possible, better than we

**Ibid*, p. 293.

†Newbern, Aug 25, 1774.

‡The three delegates were to be paid 700 lbs. “proc.” money to be divided equally among them—each county raising 20 lbs—not as a salary but as a “recompense” for trouble and expense. Col. Rec. v. 9, p. 1047.

found it; and that to suffer it to undergo a change which may impair that invaluable blessing, would be to disgrace those ancestors who at the expense of their blood, purchased those privileges, which their degenerate posterity are too weak or too wicked to maintain inviolate.”*

It is difficult to mark the birth hour of any great movement, but it may be said that no retrogressive steps were taken in North Carolina after this midsummer meeting. The fight was on to the finish. Few things are more inspiring in human history than the thrilling rise of a sturdy people, fit for freedom, with calm, well-judged words on their lips, and with bright bayonets in their hands. The American Revolution was not a strife between countries and peoples, but between parties and principles for the same priceless treasure—the bright inheritance of English freedom. Pitt, in the British Parliament, thanked God that the American colonies would fight, and Fox on the same high arena, eulogized, in splendid words, the heroic Montgomery who had fallen on the heights of Quebec. This, then, was no mere vulgar war between antagonistic races, whether in England or America. It was the triumphant culmination of the world-old fight against prerogative. Molasses Acts, Stamp Acts, Port Bills and all other bungling economic devices of stupid kings and servile Parliaments, driven on by the sordidness of commercialism and greed of gain, were mere irritants in the larger contest. The British were fighting the battles of the forum to regain from crowned divinity the liberty they had lost; the Americans were shedding their blood to keep the liberty they had always known. The spirit which resisted taxation without

* “Jones’s Defence” p. 142.

representation in America was the same which resisted loans, benevolences and ship money in England. Washington and Hampden and Pitt were patriots in a common cause. The stern farmers of Yorktown and Guilford were the lineal descendants of the Barons at Runnymede, and the men at Newbern and Hillsboro were treading in the footsteps of their ancestors in the great hall of William Rufus.

There is nothing tame or commonplace in the history of North Carolina during the two and a quarter years intervening between August 25, 1774, and December 18, 1776. It is the epic period in our life—a revelation of the furious energy latent in a quiet people. The dear old commonwealth stands forth, clad in more heroic garb than she has ever worn, save, perhaps, a century later, when the seeds of disunion, sown by ancestral cowardice in the national constitution, having fruited into horrid war, she turned aside from the safe middle paths of peace and dignity she loves so well to tread, and wrought like an unwearied giant to stay the red fury of civil strife.

Five Provincial Congresses, called by her citizens met in the borders of the state in these eventful, revolutionary years. Unmoved by consideration of gain or loss, with British fleets hovering off her coasts, and sixteen hundred tories gathering their clans for battle in her very heart, the men of Carolina, with serene and patient wisdom, guided the state through the successive stages of self-defense, rebellion, provisional government and statehood. There was haste a plenty, but no confusion, no anarchy, no lawlessness. Coolly, calmly, swiftly, resting their action upon faith in man, belief in God, and instinctive distrust of power, they sternly set their house in order for war with the might-

iest empire on earth,—their motherland; crushed, with quick and terrible promptitude, rebellion in their own limits, and yet maintained inviolate the sacredness and dominance of civil law. No detail of administration escaped their notice, no adjustment of power to liberty remained unguarded, no question of human rights went undiscussed. With the steadiness and precision of legal forms they chased a fleeing governor from his palace, and with sublime satire ascribed the legislative silence to his enforced absence.* Troops were raised, money emitted, materials of war gathered together, a State created, whole in all its parts, the machinery of statehood set in motion, the fabric of royal allegiance reduced to a mere shred of meaningless theory, with deliberate, circumspect dignity in the short space of twenty days.† Nor is this the full recital of the achievements of these civic giants in the American backwoods. They rejected premature Franklin confederations,‡ they declared first of all American colonies, whether in the one county of Mecklenburg, or in open Assembly at Halifax, April 12, 1776, for immediate “independency;”§ they ordained, with splendid sagacity, a university for the education of their posterity;|| and formulated, amid the hot clash of diverse ideas, a constitution, born of compromise and concession, and able to bear for two generations the steady strain of democratic institutions.

Natural and noble and beautiful is the instinct which prompts us to idealize the past, but the grandeur of he-

*Col. Records, Vol. 10, p. 164, Seq. p. 41 Seq.

†See proceeding of Hillsboro Congress, Aug. 20, 1775, Col. Rec. V. 9.

‡Proposed by Hooper by request, but not advocated by him.

§April 12, 1776, Col. Records, Vol 10, p. 512.

||Halifax, Dec. 18, 1776, Col. Records, Vol. 10, p. 913.

roic action is in the deed, not in the distance. No epical exaggeration or dramatic effect can accentuate this recital. Its impressiveness and force is inherent in the courage and faith and wisdom of the action and the agents. With clear, concurrent purpose, begotten of great fortitude and great love, these fearless, practical, level-eyed men performed a civic duty, and submitted their work to the ratification of remote generations.

On Saturday, August 27, 1774, William Hooper was elected a delegate to the Continental Congress, under the following resolution :

Resolved, That William Hooper, Joseph Hewes and Richard Caswell, Esquires, and every one of them, be Deputies to attend the Continental Congress, and they are hereby invested with such powers as may make any act done by them or consent given in behalf of this province, obligatory in honor upon every inhabitant thereof, who is not an alien to his country's good and an apostate to the liberties of America.

Notwithstanding the fact of this election, he was also elected a delegate to every one of the Provincial Congresses which ushered North Carolina into the family of States, and attended the sessions of every one of them except the Congress of 1776, in Halifax, during which he was in Philadelphia, the sole representative of North Carolina in the Continental Congress. These return trips from Philadelphia to the Provincial Congresses were usually made on horseback, and were formidable enough—fording streams, sleeping in miserable inns, and taking all sorts of weather. Hooper served on eleven committees in these four bodies, and as in the colonial legislatures, was in constant demand whenever it was desired to embody in fitting words the thoughts and desires of the people.* He

*See Appendix.

wrote the test-oath to be signed by members, prepared the celebrated address to the inhabitants of the British Empire intended to harmonize and unify public sentiment,* and was added immediately upon his arrival in Halifax, Monday, April 15, 1776, to the most important committee yet appointed in our annals—the committee to prepare a temporary civil constitution. The work of this committee, though it failed of adoption at this session, forms the basis of the instrument adopted five months later; and this in turn, influenced the instrument under which we live. By each of these bodies he was reëlected to the Continental Congress, and he and his colleagues formally and enthusiastically thanked for their patriotic services in and out of Congress.†

In the interregnum between the first and second sessions of the Continental Congress, his name appears upon the earliest recorded proceedings of any committee of safety, held in Wilmington, November 23, 1774.‡ These committees constituted the executive arm of the provisional government, carrying out the commands of the Continental Congress, and exercising a somewhat merciless police scrutiny over the actions of the entire community.

The first Continental Congress, the ripened fruit of the Committees of Correspondence, assembled in Carpenter's Hall in Philadelphia on September 5, 1774. This Congress was a capital transaction in human affairs. It was an assemblage of the ambassadors of thirteen petty commonwealths gathered together to

*Col. Rec. Vol. 10, p. 174. Test oath, Vol. 10, p. 174.

†Typical resolution of thanks. Col. Rec. Vol 9, p. 1181.

‡This Wilmington Committee was in session twenty-five times from Nov. 1774, until March, 1775. Hooper was continuously a member and attended thirteen sessions. Col. Rec. V. 9.

plead with decency and dignity for the largest freedom of the individual, against the encroachments of hereditary prerogative. These ambassadors did not at first come to act, but to entreat, to resolve, to petition, to protest. The choicest spirits of every colony were there. There was Washington, erect and self-poised, ready for all things, save the splendor of his own immortality; there were the Adamses, impetuous, impulsive, curbing, from prudential motives, their fiery spirits; there was the eloquent Lee, the illustrious progenitor of still more illustrious descendants; there was Henry, whose name one burning phrase keeps fresh forever; there, Jay and Sherman and fifty others—children and grand-children of men who had glimpsed the golden vision of the dignity of human nature and the essential equality of all men, and had wrought for its realization unquailingly—some against Charles in the Long Parliament, some under Cromwell in that sunrise hour at Dunbar, and some with William, the Silent, and the “Beggars of the sea.” “An assemblage of demigods,” exclaimed Lord Brougham. “For myself,” cried Lord Chatham in the British House of Lords, “I must declare and avow that in all my reading and observation—and I have read Thucydides, and have studied and admired the master states of the world—that for solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion under such a complication of difficult circumstances, no nation or body of men can stand in preference to the General Congress assembled at Philadelphia.”

Into this assembly came William Hooper and his colleagues, Joseph Hewes and Richard Caswell on Wednesday, September 14, 1774. It was Hooper's first entrance into that larger field of American political

life in which he was destined to labor for the two most trying years of our history. He was one of the very youngest men in a body, which, by aid of Franklin at seventy-one, and Rutledge at twenty-six, represented all the adult generations of America. Impressive, even beautiful in person, cultured in manner, ready in speech, uniting the culture of Harvard and the sturdy vigor of North Carolina, he was a fit representative of a modest state, lacking in forwardness then as now, but which, for one hundred and ten years, had been hurling its chartered rights in the face of grasping rulers.

It is not easy to reproduce the life of this great meeting. No stenographers or reporters then dogged the foot-steps of greatness, and profound secrecy invested the proceeding of all deliberative bodies. The Journal is but a naked narrative of resolutions offered and passed, and documents prepared and adopted. From this we learn that Mr. Hooper was immediately placed on the two most important committees instituted by that body, the result of the action of which constituted in effect, the entire work of the Congress, viz: The Committee to state the rights of the colonies in general, the several instances in which those rights had been violated and infringed, and the means proper to be pursued for obtaining a restoration of them; and the Committee to report and examine the several statutes which affected the trade and commerce of the colony.*

For any faint glimpse of these fifty gentlemen as they existed in the flesh, each accustomed to leadership in his own province, speaking, clashing, counseling

*See Appendix—Hooper, Sullivan of New Hampshire, and Hopkins of Rhode Island, were the only persons who served on both Committees. John Adams's Works. Vol. II. p. 375.

upon those weighty papers that were to call out the high eulogy of the greatest statesmen of the age, we must rely on the diary of John Adams, and various fragmentary papers. It is astonishing to us, to whom each scrap of information about their deliberations is immortal, that they treated their work so lightly. But it was not an age of self-consciousness and attitudinizing and personalities. Upon Adams, chiefly, we must depend for our knowledge of their social lives, their chats, discussions and revels in the taverns and coffee houses; their dinings and merry-makings in the hospitable homes of the Quaker City, surrounded by those stately, high-waisted dames, with shapely arms and snowy necks, whose high-bred faces look out at us from wrinkled canvass with something of the fadeless beauty that befits the mothers of immortal sons.

“Friday, October 21st—dined at Library Tavern with a dozen gentlemen from the West Indies and the gentlemen from North Carolina. Fine turtle and admirable wine.”†

“Friday, September 23rd. Dined with the gentlemen from North Carolina at Chief Justice Allen’s.”

“Thursday, September 29th. Dined at home with the delegates from North Carolina.”*

This little glimpse of these men, eating and drinking, surrounds them with human interest to us. They are no longer dignified machines, but men of flesh and blood.

A. M. Hooper relates the rather puerile story that Hooper’s first speech in Congress lasted one-half hour, and produced a profound impression upon the members, accompanied, however, by the unpleasant remark, that they were surprised at so much eloquence from a dele-

†Works of John Adams Vol. II. p. 400.

gate from North Carolina. The following bit of testimony, from the diary of John Adams, to Hooper's position in this body, strange to say, has escaped the vigilance of all our historians:* "The deliberations of this Congress are spun out to an immeasurable length. There is so much wit, sense, subtlety, learning, eloquence among fifty gentlemen each accustomed to lead in his own province. Johnson of Maryland has a clear and cool head; Galloway, Duane and Johnson are sensible and learned, but cold speakers; Lee, Patrick Henry and Hooper are the *orators*; Paca is a deliberator; Chase speaks warmly; Mifflin is a spirited, sprightly speaker; John Rutledge don't excel in learning or oratory, though he is a rapid speaker; Dyer and Sherman speak long and often, but heavily and clumsily." It was high praise to be rated even the third member of that trio, and the descendants of William Hooper should never forget this sincere tribute to his power by one who was himself the colossus of the debate for independence, and one of the most powerful speakers of any age.

The first Continental Congress adjourned October 26, after a continuous session of forty-nine days. The second Congress assembled May 10, 1776. William Hooper, Joseph Hewes and John Penn, Caswell having resigned his appointment, appeared as the delegates from North Carolina, and took their seats June 1st, 1775. It was the beginning of a close and tender friendship and sympathy between Hooper and Penn in all the trying duties of the hour. An added dignity and sacredness shall hereafter adhere to this immortal spot because the bones of these two patriots, long buried

*Works of John Adams. Vol. II, p. 396.

in remote, unmarked graves, now lie here together, one in death as in life, cared for by patriotic love, marked by imperishable granite, secure in twin renown.

A wholly different and more aggressive spirit pervaded the Congress of 1775. A year of debate, of questioning, of bloodshed, had left its mark upon the country and the delegates. Thought and action, not entreaty, now filled the air. While no man could forecast its marvellous career of fifteen momentous years, during which the new life of humanity was to slowly reveal itself amid the fire and blood of an awful time; though none could foretell its mighty achievements, its vicissitudes, its glory and its shame, yet, the most frivolous felt that a council of men had come together, which would change the course of history and the fate of empires. It would be mere boasting to claim for Mr. Hooper a foremost, commanding influence in the Continental Congress. He was a strong, eloquent, earnest man in a company of giants. If he had hailed from Massachusetts, Virginia or New York his influence would have been increased ten-fold, for the Congress was not a body of peers in the modern theory, legislating for a Union of equal states. It was an assemblage of delegates representing a temporary compact of diverse and jealous colonies, drawn together, by common dangers, and groping* for the glorious secret of federal unity. Its duties were executive as well as legislative, and the states great in wealth and commercial power took the lead by common consent. The committees, which both originated legislation and executed it, were not appointed by the president, but were chosen by ballot, and the members took rank on the committees according to the number of votes received. Mr. Hooper was elected to serve on twenty-eight com-

mittees during the time of his service, some involving measures of the deepest interest, and was associated on them with Jefferson, Franklin, Adams and other leading members of the House.* He was chairman of the committee to draft an address to the inhabitants of Jamaica, and his language in that address has about a suggestion of the antithetic, defiant periods of the Declaration. With Dr. Franklin, Robert Morris and Lee, he formed the secret Committee of Foreign Interference—perhaps the most important working committee instituted by the Congress. They were authorized to conceal important information from Congress itself, to keep secret agents abroad, to make agreements, and thus secretly to pledge the faith of the nation. The only fragment of any speech made by Hooper is to be found in the memorandum kept by John Adams in the discussion of the question whether each colony should have one vote, and the status of slaves in determining representation. It is a mere reminiscence of Mr. Adams's, but there is much wisdom in the general thought: "August 1, 1776, Mr. Hooper: 'North Carolina is a striking exception to the general rule, laid down yesterday, that the riches of a country are in proportion to the number of inhabitants. A gentleman owning three or four hundred negroes does not raise more corn than it takes to feed them.' A laborer can't be hired for less than twenty-four pounds in Massachusetts bay. The net profit of a *negro* is not more than five or six pounds per annum. I wish to see the day when *slaves are no*

*John Adams served on ninety committees. Works of John Adams, p.498.

Hooper served on six committees with Jefferson, four with John Adams, three with Samuel Adams, four with Franklin, three with Jay, two with Lee, three with Livingston, two each with Harrison and Sherman. See Appendix.

necessary. Whites and slaves cannot work together. The negro works under the impulse of fear and has no care for his master's interests.' " *

The duties of a continental delegate were quite as arduous without as within the halls of Congress. The correspondence of our delegation with the Council of Safety gives a tolerably clear idea of the nature and diversity of these duties, and is strangely mixed with patriotism, small gossip, surmise, business and advice as to military affairs.† Hooper and his colleagues were not legislators alone. They combined the functions of financial and purchasing agents, of commissary-generals, reporters of all great rumors or events, and, in general, bore the relation to the remote colony of ministers resident at a foreign court. They were indeed busy men. The Congress sat from nine until seven. In the remaining hours they found time to do all the things recorded in this graphic and interesting correspondence. They kept the Council of Safety well informed as to the progress of affairs; they negotiated for clothing and supplies for our troops. In the course of only two months they expended five thousand pounds in purchasing horses and wagons which they sent to Halifax loaded with every conceivable thing—from the English Constitution to the wagoner's rum--pamphlets, sermons, cannon, gunpowder, drums and pills. They scoured Philadelphia for salt-pans and essays on salt making;

*Works of John Adams, p. 498.

†Mr. Hooper spent sixteen months in actual service in Philadelphia. He was absent six months in the discharge of other public duties. Thirty-two letters passed between the delegates and the Council of Safety between Feb. 1, 1776 and Nov. 16, 1776. Eleven of these are from Penn and Hewes, seven from the three conjointly, and fourteen from Hooper, written between Oct. 26 and Nov. 16, when he alone represented the colony in Philadelphia.—Col. Rec. Vol. 10.

they haggled over the price of gray mares, and cursed the incompetency of slothful blacksmiths whose aid they sought. Such work as this did not enhance their reputation on the floors of Congress, but it meant life or death to the wearied, ill-paid soldiers in the field. The following letters from the tenth volume of the Colonial Records throw light on this stage of their life.

Letter from the North Carolina Delegates in the Continental Congress to the Provincial Council of Safety.

HONOURED SIRS,

* * * * In addition to the several articles which you recommended to our care. We have bestowed our Thoughts upon the subject of procuring Cloaths for our Troops. Men as prompt as they are, to encounter every difficulty and danger, deserve every comfort and convenience that the present pittance of Stores can be procured for them in this part of the Continent. The Soldiers raised here, not from any advantages which they derived from nature in point of appearance, but from being decently clad, and covered from the Inclemency of the Sun & Rain, shew themselves to great advantage, & rival regular Troops in decency and cleanliness, whilst ours with scarce a shirt to their Backs, feel forcibly the effects of poverty, they become dispirited from neglect, & feel an indifference to a service which so sparingly recompenses the exertions of those who fight for it, and brave every danger to protect the liberties of their Country. (Aware of the difficulty of procuring Cloathing in Carolina, We have prevailed upon the Congress to send a supply from this, & by their direction have this day employed one of the continental Commissaries to have *made up* for them as many *Cloth Short Coats, Breeches, Stockings, Shoes and Shirts* as may tend to relieve their urgent wants & prepare them to meet the Weather when it becomes less favorable to their present destitute Situation. It will take some time to collect the materials & have them made up for use, but be assured nothing shall be wanting to urge to completion this necessary business, & to forward the articles as soon as they are in readiness.) We shall not omit to send Hats, if besides these you should think proper to order Canteens, Cartouch boxes or any other military appendages, (Arms excepted), We shall pay a punctual Obedience to such orders, Arms not being to be procured.

The 4 Tons of Gunpowder mentioned in the resolve inclosed will be forwarded as soon as Waggon and Horses can be purchased. *

* * The field pieces cannot be had. * * * * Battering cannon cannot for some time be sent to you. * * * * With plenty of iron in our province, and the ground work of a foundry at Deep river, could we possibly procure an able operator to carry on the manufacture of Guns, it would be an Object well worthy publick attention, & merit almost any expense that might attend the carrying so useful a design into execution. * * * *

We have consulted Doctor Franklin and others upon the subject of Salt pans. He has promised us his Assistance in preparing the plans, and directing the mode of making the pans. As soon as an operator can be found who will undertake them, We shall set him at work. * * * * We shall find great difficulty to hire men to drive our Waggon. * * *

We beg leave to press upon you as a matter of the most serious concern the manufactures of Saltpetre, common salt and Gunpowder. Should Britain spread her immense Navy along our coasts our supplies from abroad are at an end. Upon ourselves must we rely, and should we fall short in our attempts, the consequences are too alarming to predict & must be obvious to every one. * * * *

With great respect Sir

Your most obedt Servts

WILL HOOPER
JOSEPH HEWES
JOHN PENN

Penn to Thos. Person, Feb. 14, 1776: "My first wish is that America be free; the second that we may be restored to Great Britain in peace and harmony upon just and proper terms. I send you a pamphlet called "Common Sense," published a month ago."

Letter from Penn, June 28, 1776: "The first of July will be an era of great importance, as that is the day for debating the great and important question of independence, and from what I have seen there is no doubt but a total separation will take place as all the colonies except Maryland are for it, and the inhabitants there are coming over fast."

During a part of the spring and summer of 1776 Mr. Hooper was absent from Congress attending the Halifax Convention, acting with those who declared for "independency" in April, and engaging in the campaign against Clinton on the Cape Fear. Em-

ployed in these duties, he did not reach the Congress during the great debate and vote on the question of independence, but happily for his fame, did arrive before the Declaration had been signed. Clad in those garments which Trumbull's genius has immortalized, he was one of the fifty-four gentlemen who gathered together on August 2, 1776, to affix their names to the great document. While nothing is so difficult as the ability to transport one's self into the actual mood of mind in which great historic acts are performed, we may be sure the least serious among these men must have realized that he was signing a death-warrant, or a title deed to immortality. Yet with firm, clear hands, with high purpose and undaunted resolution, the transaction was accomplished. American tradition has lit up the deathless scene with flashes of grim wit and rough mockery of fear and death - investing it with a touch of humanity to which we all lovingly cling. "We must hang together or we will hang separately," exclaimed the slender Elbridge Gerry. "It will be all over with me in a moment, but you will be kicking in the air a half-hour after I am gone," responded the portly Harrison with bolder humor.

It is not easy to give expression to the transcendent importance of this latest Magna Charta in human affairs. A rhetorician may readily see in it a note of loudness, a scream of defiance, a rather dazzling array of glittering generalities, but it is almost as absurd to cavil at it as it would be to criticize the Ten Commandments. It seized all the hopes and visions and beliefs of humanity about freedom, and with dynamic energy compressed them into one shining tablet and flashed them before the longing eyes of men. It was the last chapter in the scriptures of English liberty, the culmination of

the working out through many centuries of the problem of self-government. Basing government on popular sovereignty and personal equality, it shall stand forever, a house of refuge to the hunted and fleeing subjects of injustice, and a rebuke and a stumbling block to the tyrant and the oppressor. The men who indorsed it with their names on that summer day achieved immortality at a bound, and wrote their names where all nations shall behold them, and all time cannot efface them

In the first decades of this century our grandfathers were filled with indignation and astonishment at Mr. Jefferson's remarkable letter to John Adams in which he declared that "there was no greater Tory in Congress than William Hooper.* Jo. Seawell Jones, choking with rage, rushed to the rescue in his celebrated Defence of North Carolina and with an uncommon mingling of invective, passion, partizanship, critical power and insight, effectually disposed of his great antagonist. It is no part of my purpose to revive this ancient controversy. The charge on the face of it was absurd. No man who wore two faces could have masqueraded before the eagle eyes of Ashe, Harvey, Harnett and the patriots of 1776, and won their love. It is a hard thing to say of so illustrious a man as Mr. Jefferson that he had strange moments of liability to post-mortuary slander, but the poisonous scraps of the "Anas" and the researches of two generations into his accusation against Hooper abundantly and mournfully attest its truth. Mr. Hooper's mental attitude toward the idea of independence, is a matter of vital interest to our people, however, and happily for his reputation, his

*Jefferson to Adams, July 9, 1819. Jones's Defence p. 2., Introduction.

private and confidential correspondence reveals this attitude in a most complete and perfect way:* "Before April 19, 1775" said Thomas Jefferson himself, "I had never heard a whisper of a disposition to separate from the mother country." "When I first took command of the army (July 3d, 1775) I abhorred the idea of independence," said George Washington. Over one year before these words were uttered, April 26, 1774, Hooper wrote a letter to James Iredell in which occurred the following prophetic words: "*They (the colonies) are striding fast to independence, and ere long will build an empire upon the ruins of Great Britain; will adopt its Constitution purged of its impurities, and from an experience of its defects will guard against those evils which have wasted its vigor.*"†

This is the most noteworthy personal letter of the Revolution. It antedates all known expressions on the subject of separation, and confers upon William Hooper the proud title of the 'Prophet of American Independence.' And this is not the only evidence:

HOOPER TO IREDELL.

WILMINGTON, June 21, 1774.

My dear Sir:—

I was favored with yours by the express. Since my arrival in town I have been so occupied in Boston affairs that I have had scarce time to run over Cato. I have had just taste enough of it, to give me higher "gout" for a more particular attention to it hereafter, when I shall give you my sentiments very candidly upon it.

I am absorbed in the distress of my native country. The inhu-

*From April 1774 to Feb. 1776 there are nine letters of Hooper's to Jas. Iredell and Samuel Johnson—his closest friends—on this subject.

†Life and Correspondence of James Iredell Vol. I. p. 196. For entire letter see Jones's Defence p. 314.

manity of Britain can be equalled by nothing but its mistaken policy. The only apology I can find for them, is to charge the depravity of their hearts upon the weakness of their heads.

Infatuated people! Do they imagine that we will make a tame surrender of all that an honest man ought to hold dear without a struggle to preserve; and that our pretensions to freedom are chimerical—without being founded in Right and living only in empty profession? * * * * *

Adieu, my dear sir. I have only time to assure you that, amidst the distresses of this country, nothing can tend more to lessen the melancholy share I take in them—than to hear frequently from you.

I am

Yours, with sincere esteem,

WILL. HOOPER.

HOOPER TO SAMUEL JOHNSTON.

PHILADELPHIA, May 23 1775

"This city has taken a deep share in the insurrection which is so generally diffused through the continent. Men, women and children feel the patriotic glow, and think every man in a state of reprobation beyond the power of heavenly mercy to forgive, who is not willing to meet death rather than concede a tittle of the Congress creed."

HOOPER TO JOHNSTON.

PHILA. June 5, 1775

"I wrote you lately by Mr. Hewes' vessel. I have nothing to add but to request of you to exert your utmost influence to prevail upon the people to enroll themselves in companies; sacredly to attend to the preservation of what little gunpowder remains among them, and to rest assured that no terms will be obtained from Lord North but what are purchased at the point of the sword."

HOOPER TO JOHNSTON.

PHIL. Feb. 6, 1776.

"Do we not play a game where slavery or liberty is at stake?
* * * * * Were I to advise, the whole force of the colony should be collected ready for immediate action when called for; and bid adieu to plough shares and pruning hooks till the sword could find its scab-

bard with safety and honor to its owner. My first wish is to be free; my second to be reconciled to Great Britain. God grant that both may soon take place. Measures must be taken immediately. Ere this the troops of the enemy are in your country: may you stand forth like men, and fight the cause of liberty, the cause of the living God."

HOOPER TO JOHNSTON.

PHILA. Sept. 27, 1776.

"Do not mistake me,—my spirits have not failed me. I do not look upon present ills as incurable; I never considered the path to liberty as strewn with roses;—She keeps her temple upon the highest pinnacle on earth. They who would enter with sincerity and pure devotion must climb over rocks and frightful precipices, covered with thorns and weeds: thousands must perish in the pursuit! But the prize is worthy of the fatigue and hazard; and the adventurer will count with triumph the glorious wounds that have purchased to him and to posterity the invaluable blessing."

Mr. Hooper, as may be seen from these letters, did not welcome bloodshed and war nor delight in hanging over the precipice of separation, but he foresaw it all, and moved toward it with unfaltering step. Like Washington, he loved old England, but was for freedom first and reconciliation afterwards. We should be glad that he was that sort of a man—it was the North Carolina in him. Your Hotspurs strut well and make a brave show, but the reluctant revolutionists have been the determined ones in all our history, from Edward Moseley in the dim, desperate beginnings on the Albermarle, to Zebulon Baird Vance in the travail and despair of civil war.

On April 29th, 1777, Mr. Hooper resigned his seat in the Continental Congress and was succeeded by his friend, Cornelius Harnett.* His decision was greatly

*He had obtained leave of absence from Congress Dec. 20, 1776, and never returned.

deplored in North Carolina. He was then the most learned and eloquent man within her borders. He had headed our delegation since the inception of the Congress in 1774, and all his talents fitted him for useful service in legislative life. It doubtless cost him a hard struggle to take the step, but it was rendered necessary by poverty and precipitated by his desire to return to his family, which had been without his care for nearly four years. There had been no money accruing from his profession since 1773, and the income of a continental Delegate scarcely sufficed to keep him, alone, in decent comfort. It is more than likely that his wife's private fortune alone stood between his family and need in these trying years.*

Mr. Hooper had married in the fall of 1767, Miss Anne Clark, of Wilmington, daughter of Thomas Clark, Senior, and Barbara Murray, his wife. Barbara Murray was a sister of James Murray, a gentlemen of fortune and position and a member of the Provincial Council under Governors Johnson and Dobbs,† Thomas Clark, the elder, was High Sheriff of New Hanover county at a time when that office was filled by the first gentlemen of the province, and accumulated a large fortune. Mrs. Hooper's brother, Colonel and Brigadier General-by-Brevet, Thomas Clark was a brave officer in the revolutionary army—First Regiment North Carolina Continental Line. He entered the service with the rank of Major, Sept., 1775, and was twice promoted April 10, 1776, and Feb. 5, 1777. His resi-

*Mr. Hooper owned about a dozen negroes in 1781. Iredell Vol. 2, p. 5, Dec. 20, 1776, the Congress at Halifax fixed the salaries of the continental delegates at \$2000 proc. money—a very meagre sum.

†The celebrated Robert Hare and Judge John Clark Innes Hare of Phil. were descendants of Mrs. Hooper's brother—John Innes Clark.

dence was at Point Repose, in Brunswick county, and he was a man of large wealth and great influence. The letters of the day abound in references to the beauty and strength of his character.* His will dated December 1792 lies before me, wherein he bequeaths thirty-seven negroes to the children and grandchildren of William Hooper, besides thirty-three negroes to his step daughter, Sarah Nash.

Mrs. Hooper was a woman of plain features, great charm of manner and uncommon strength of character. James Iredell met her for the first time in June, 1778 at her own home, and thus writes of her :

MASON BOROUGH, 7th June, 1778.

My Dear Hannah:—I have the pleasure of writing to you from Mr. Hooper's, where I arrived about two o'clock on Tuesday. He was not at home, having gone to town that morning about some business. You may believe, therefore, I was a little embarrassed, as I had not the least acquaintance with Mrs. Hooper. But she received me with such real politeness and cheerfulness, and in a manner so free from unmeaning ceremony and constraint, that my awkwardness soon wore off, and I entered into conversation with her with as much freedom as if I had been acquainted with her for years. Never was there in any woman more strongly exhibited the little power of beauty, opposed to the accomplishments of mind and behavior. Her appearance at first sight is very ordinary; though I had been prepared for it, I confess it struck me; but I defy any one to be long in her company, and still retain the same impression. Her mind appears to be highly cultivated; she has read much; her sentiments are just and noble; she speaks with great correctness and elegance, as well as with ease; her conversation is extremely interesting, and equal to high subjects. Her natural abilities appear to be very great; her distinctions are accurate and acute, and her knowledge of history, in particular, seems to be very extensive. I am really charmed with her. The idea I had formed of her; I find very far

*Iredell's Life and Letters Vol. 1, p. 507. General Clark married Sallie Moore, sister of Judge Moore, and the widow of General Francis Nash—killed at Germantown.

inferior to her real merit. Mr. Hooper, by bad weather or business, was detained in town till the next morning. But we were not at a loss for conversation the whole day; and though I was anxiously looking out for him till it was too late to expect him, I spent my time very agreeably. With how much happiness could I stay here for some time if you were with me! You would be delighted too. They seem so happy in each other, and their children; their deportment to me is so obliging and friendly, the situation is so agreeable (upon the Sound in sight of the sea), that I want nothing at present to make me perfectly happy but your company. The children are very fine ones, though none promise to be so handsome as Mr. Hooper; but they appear to be sensible, are extremely well behaved, and his little girl (about Peggy's age), I believe, will be pretty.

Mrs. Hooper seems to have continued to impress Mr. Iredell most agreeably, as the following quaint and naïve excerpts from his letters to his wife show:

"Mrs. Hooper is not here (in Halifax, 1779,) so my heart is quite safe, and I believe will remain very secure in your possession unless any accident to Hooper should tempt me to wish that you had less health."

"Indeed, my dear Hannah, whatever you may think of it, and however I may chat of other women, I can see none where I cannot make discrimination to your advantage—such sincerely is my opinion. Mrs. Hooper comes nearest—but she is not so young."

The home of the Hoopers, called Finian, was beautifully situated on Masonboro Sound, eight miles from Wilmington.[†] In this lovely home of his own building, within sight and sound of the sea, surrounded by his books and his three young children, whom he tenderly

*Judge Iredell married Miss Hannah Johnston, of Edenton, sister of Samuel Johnston—our first senator.

†The place now belongs to Mr. Walter Parsley, of Wilmington. No vestige of Finian remains. It was meanly fired by the British in 1776, and the last remains were destroyed by fire a few years ago. The first Masonic lodge of the Province was organized at Finian. Mr. Hooper's law office was situated on the corner of 2nd and Princess streets, Wilmington.

loved, conscious of having borne an honorable part in momentous affairs, secure in the regard of congenial friends, Hooper took up the threads of his life where the Revolution had snapped them, and prepared to recoup his fortunes and to aid in guiding his State. When he left home for the first Continental Congress, in 1774, a royal governor was fuming and fretting in the Tryon palace at Newbern; now his former associate, Richard Caswell, managed the affairs of a sovereign state under the forms of republican government. For the next three years comparative tranquility and peace prevailed over the State. Tory outbreaks and internal rebellion were quickly crushed, and the evils of war were confined to the northern provinces. The courts of law, long silent, were reopened, and the state laid off into six judicial districts, afterwards increased to eight. His beloved friend, James Iredell, through his own efforts, became one of the Judges of the new court. "I shall now open my law books," he declared.

There is nothing lovelier in our revolutionary history than the friendship of Iredell and Hooper. Well-born, scholarly, refined, single-minded, lawyers from love of the law and its practice, they stood for all in all to each other, in an isolated country and a rude age. Happy in each other's company, on horseback or in stick gigs, they traversed the new State from Wilmington to Salisbury, riding the circuit of the six districts in their semi-annual progresses. "Life is supportable when Hooper is with me" says Iredell. Together they endured all the hardships incident to their life—bad inns, crowded quarters, wrangling attorneys, choleric judges, suspicious clients—and together they eagerly enjoyed the hospitalities and festivities of the cheerful homes which opened their doors

to them in Halifax, Hillsboro, Newbern and Edenton. In their long journeys they discussed the great principles of government, the future of the new nation, struggling into life, or bemoaned the fatuity of the democratic spirit which just then was beginning to sweep with lawless force across the face of society. In their enforced absences at home, or when Mr. Hooper was attending the sessions of the Assembly to all of which he belonged, and in all of which he bore a conspicuous part, they poured out their souls to each other in a correspondence, happily preserved to us, which mirrors the life of the time and gives structure and color to an otherwise formless epoch. With sly wit, they punctured the foibles of their pet abomination, Judge Spencer, told each other all the matrimonial gossip, noted the wiles and charms of certain dashing young widows, hit off in the abandon of perfect confidence friend and enemy alike, and concluded, in stately flourish, by sending their compliments and greetings with ceremonious gallantry to the ladies of their households.

Hooper to Iredell, 1784: "*Entre nous*, Betsey Hogg will probably change her name before you see her, and for the sake of a pun—the first I ever made—will substitute the food for the animal."*

"If Helen, the fair, who sojourneth within thy gates, should have taken unto herself a help-meet, pray salute her in my behalf with a holy kiss of congratulation."† And what could be neater than this as an index of revolutionary mail facilities:

Hooper to Iredell: "should this scrawl pursue the direction I let it off, it may reach Edenton, but like

* Miss Hogg married Mr. Huske.

† Miss Helen Blair, Iredell's niece.

the air balloon, its progress I fear will be eccentric, so that it is in the chapter of contingencies whether it will ever reach you."

In more serious strain, they discussed legislative policies, military movements, the great problems of life and death. "I always fear," writes Hooper, "when Washington does not command." "Our soldiers go to South Carolina (December 17, 1778) never to return." "A soldier made is a farmer lost." "I despise the cant of divines, the pride and hypocrisy of schools. There is a luxury in woe, and I have long suspected the heart of a man who is above it."* They were one, too, in their political opinions, and lamented bitterly enough the unwisdom of certain legislative acts,—the issuing of so much paper money, the sending of the soldiers southward, and the severity manifested towards absentees and loyalists. There was never any weak despondency, however, and these two and a half years, with the active litigation and the home life, were bright ones to Hooper, so long immersed in public affairs.

But the sad days were at hand. The tide of war now flowed Southward, and roared and surged over North Carolina. Defenseless, through the absence of her battalions in sister colonies, wasting under a depreciated currency, impoverished by the constant drain from her granaries to feed the soldiers of the Southern armies, beset by intestine foes and hearing the disciplined tread of British soldiers marching to her destruction, the state seemed to await supinely conquest and spoliation. But it was the portentous calmness of desperate resolve, and the dauntless Carolinians of

* A child of George Hooper had died suddenly.

1780 and 1781, with the grim, silent fury that has marked their course in every great tumult, quickly hushed their noisy dissensions and rushed to the defence of their invaded fields. Through the murky haze of war the historic imagination beholds them, their faces lit with the joy of battle, like heroic figures on an ancient frieze, fighting for home and liberty. Under Davidson Davie and Graham they encircled rebellious Charlotte with a wall of fire; under Shelby, McDowell, and Cleveland they turned back for a second time the onset of invasion on the heights of King's Mountain; at Ramsour's Mill, under Locke, and all through the valleys of the Haw and the Cape Fear under many a nameless leader, they crushed with iron heel the foes of their own household, enticed from their coverts by the hope of gain; from the Cowpens to the Dan they held aloft, with stout arms and loyal hearts, their blood-stained standards, and here in pitched battle upon this field they fired the last shot at a broken and baffled foe.

In the less stirring sphere of civil life there is every where manifest the same uproar and agony, and as well the same determination and resolve. The unusual prominence of Hooper in all the phases of the Revolution caused him to remove his family from the Sound to Wilmington, at the first approach of war and to prepare to go into exile himself, in the interior of the State.* Through the storm of the times we catch fleeting glimpses of him, a hunted exile, driven hither and thither, seeking an asylum. At one time he may be seen shuddering with fear at Halifax over the fate of his wife and children shut up in captured Wilming-

*He meditated seeking a refuge in the French West India Islands but did not carry out his plans.

ton,* or cheered by the brave conduct of his wife as revealed in her letters; at another, wandering through eastern Carolina in company with Archibald Mac-laine with nothing but their clothes on their back and dependent for food upon the kindness of friends in Edenton and vicinity; now stricken with desperate illness at Windsor and nursed back to life by Mrs. Iredell's gentle hands; hastening to Halifax and Wake Court House to legislate for the life of the state and the reorganization of her scattered armies; hurrying to Wilmington under a flag of truce, and at last, when Guilford had borne fruit in Yorktown, and the tyrant Craig had been driven from Wilmington, he sits amid the ruins of his despoiled and dismantled home and writing to Iredell tells of his broken fortune, and the indignities heaped upon his brave wife and helpless children.†

To many men and women of middle life, Mr. Hooper's recital of his misfortunes will serve to recall the sad days of '65 when the grand-children of the men of the Revolution in North Carolina had their experience of the horrors of invasion, rendered doubly bitter by the necessities of civil war:

WILMINGTON, February 17, 1782.

MY DEAR IREDELL;—Since I left you and my other friends at Edenton, I have been involved in such a round of anxiety, bustle and fatigue, that I have had scarce a moment's leisure to devote to the duty which I owe to my absent connections. * * * From Edenton I proceeded to Newbern, and immediately upon my arrival heard that Mrs. Hooper, * * and others, had been expelled from Wilmington, and suffered to carry with her nothing but their wearing apparel.

*Wilmington was taken by Maj. Craig, Jan. 29, 1781, and evacuated in Nov., 1781 a period of ten months.

†Iredell, Vol. 1, pp. 442-561. Vol. 2, pp. 1-5.

* * * I immediately made provisions for following, but before I got off, the evacuation of Wilmington was announced to me. I then resolved to take that in my route, to secure, if possible, some of my negroes, and to collect what I could from the wreck of my property. I found that Mrs. Hooper had managed, with so much address, as to carry off all our household linen: blankets and all,—the wearing apparel of herself and children; but had been obliged to leave behind all her furniture, both standing and movable. This, as well as my books, the British pretended they had left in the situation it was when Mrs. Hooper went out of town. But this I found to be far from the truth. Except a few articles which Mrs. Hooper had secreted among the friends she parted from at Wilmington, the British had borne off every article of house and kitchen furniture, knives, forks plates and spoons;—an almost general sweep; nor had they spared the beds to finish the business. Two nights before I arrived in Wilmington, Rutherford's militia had broken open my house, cut open the feather beds that remained, plundered the tickings, and given the feathers to the wind. My library, except as to law books, is shamfully injured, and above 100 valuable volumes taken away. What vexes me most of all is that they have broken several sets of books, where the volumes were so necessarily dependent on each other, as to make what remains useless lumber. You know my partiality to my books—of course my chagrin at the abuse of them. Three fellows of mine had gone off with the British;—one had been forced away by the militia, and I had lost five other negroes by the small-pox. After I had drawn together my few negroes that remained, and who were straggling in the town and its vicinity, and picked up the fragments of my property, I set off for Hillsboro'. I found my family there with Mrs. Allen, and under the roof of the house which Col. Clark had provided for them, and making an attempt at housekeeping with the few articles they had brought, and the colonel's camp furniture. Mrs. Hooper had been ill for several months before she left Wilmington, and when she came out, was so much reduced by disease that there was very little reason to believe that she would have reached Hillsboro alive. My son Tom was under the influence of a high fever. Craig, immediately upon issuing his edict of expulsion, had ordered a sergeant and a superior officer to take a list of my property, and Mrs. Hooper was enjoined to quit the town in a certain number of hours, under pain of the Provost. She was not allowed to carry out of it a riding carriage, though she had two, nor a horse, though Captain Leggatt and two others offered their horses to forward her to the American camp. In this melancholy situation, Mr. James Walker offered a boat and Mr. William Campbell's hands to row it as high up as Mr.

Swann's on the Northeast. The ladies were seated in the boat, and passed through the painful scene of bidding adieu to their few friends, who were not permitted to accompany them, when Craig, who had not yet filled up the measure of cruelty allotted for these distressed women, forbade the boat to proceed. Again they came on shore—no house to shelter them, of their own—few that were hardy enough to receive them into theirs. They stood in the sun for several hours, when my daughter, overcome with the heat, called out "Mamma, let us go home." Mrs. Hooper, whose firmness never forsook her in the severest moment of trial, answered—"My dear, we have no home," Betsy could not support it. She burst into tears. Several British officers publicly abused Craig's conduct, and said that such cruelty would disgrace a savage. Craig again shifted like the weathercock, and ordered the boat to go on, but would not suffer any gentleman to attend them, although James Walker requested it. A boy of about ten years old was sent up as their escort.

* * * I must not, after reciting so many trifles, fail to do just honor to my servant *John*. You remember him a boy about my house, to whom I was partial. He was not suffered to come out with his mistress; but after her departure, everything was attempted to attach him to the service of the British. He was offered clothes, money, freedom—everything that could captivate a youthful mind. He pretended to acquiesce, and affected a perfect satisfaction at this change of situation; but in the evening of the day after Mrs. Hooper left the town, he stole through the British sentries, and without a pass, accompanied by a wench of Mrs. Allen's. He followed Mrs. Hooper seventy miles on foot, and overtook her, to the great joy of himself and my family. His sister, Lavinia, whom perhaps you remember, pursued a different conduct. She went on board the fleet after the evacuation of the town, and much against her will was forced ashore by some of my friends, and returned to me.

* * * My brothers are both in Charleston—Tom carrying on an extensive trade, and making money rapidly. His wife goes to England, in the spring, and he, I suppose, will soon follow her. George, at present in suspense what to do. * * * Before this I have exhausted your patience. I must still further trespass upon you, to request of you to offer my best respects to Mrs. Iredell and Mrs. Blair, my compliments to Miss Blair, Miss Peggy, and every other member of your good family, to whom I am under obligations too great to express. Remember me to Mr. and Mrs. Johnson and the dear children at Hayes,—they are ever near my heart; and I can never forget their goodness while God gives me power to think.

* * * Adieu, my dear Iredell, and believe me ever, with the highest esteem and heartfelt regard,

Your friend and obedient humble servant,

WILL. HOOPER.

In the fall of 1782, attracted by the healthful climate of Hillsboro, Mr. Hooper removed his family there and made it his home for the last eight years of his life. It was the busiest period of his life as a lawyer. Litigation was active, as it always is after war, and all sorts of causes—treason, confiscation, claims against Tories and absentees, demanded adjudication. Hooper, Maclaine, Iredell and Nash got the lion's share of the practice of the day. Once more we see Hooper and Iredell making the rounds of the court-towns, appearing in the leading cases at each session, and, in the recesses, extracting diligently all the pleasure there was to be had in indefatigable dining and dancing. It was a life of intense labor, and could not long be endured save by men of the largest physical power. There were other causes, too, that rendered the life arduous. A violent prejudice existed in the minds of the multitude against lawyers who had so long guided affairs in the province, fomented in some instances by ambitious military men eager to rule, and surrounded with the glamour of war-like achievement. The mere sight of a lawyer was sufficient to call forth a curse from the tavern loungers. They alone, of all the community seemed prosperous and busy with lucrative labor, and hence they were denounced as bloodsuckers and smooth-tongued rogues. Conscious of his own disinterested and patriotic services, one is inclined to forgive the tone of bitterness with which Mr. Hooper refers to these murmurings and accusations. The sublime philosophy which can bear the taunts and jeers of popu-

lar injustice in dignified silence, is not given to all men. Public approval is the bread of life to the conscientious public servant, no matter how high-placed, or how secure in the knowledge of his rectitude.

"My dear Governor," said a kind lady to Governor Vance, as he entered her home one hot summer day, weary, worn and dusty, while outside the men shouted and the bands played, "I should think all this noise and outcry would almost kill you." "It does, Madame, but if they didn't do it, it would 'plum' kill me," answered the Governor, crystallizing in his homely fashion a great truth of human nature.

Though Mr. Hooper was elected to the House of Commons from Orange, triumphantly and unsolicited, in 1784, and again in 1786, his political career may be said to have closed with his removal to the upper county. Here he met with his first political defeat, and here he essayed in vain for a seat in the Constitutional Convention of 1788, as did Allen Jones, Moore, Blount and other distinguished men.* On September 22, 1786, he was appointed by Congress one of the judges of a Federal Court, formed to determine a territorial controversy between Massachusetts and New York, but a subsequent arrangement between the states obviated the sitting of the court.†

For ten years the current of public opinion had been setting away from the views of men like Hooper, Samuel Johnston and James Iredell, and when the tidings

* He was defeated for the House of Commons in 1783 by Col. Thomas Farmer—his first defeat—in consequence of imprudent talk by some of his friends reflecting upon the venality of the masses, then called the "mob."

† The session of 1786 was his last public duty. Sanderson's *Lives of the Signers*, Vol. 7, p. 171.

of the Treaty of Peace reached America, they found themselves the leaders of a hopeless minority in a changed political order. They stood for conservatism and clung to the good things of the old order, while the age of radicalism had come. In 1776 they had battled for a strong government and a constitution based on intelligence and property, while the hitherto dumb masses, coming dimly into a consciousness of their power, were clamoring for representation.* Let us not err by judging them from the summit of our political experience. There was not then probably a democrat in all the world, and it was still a doubtful question how ignorance and poverty would behave in politics. Rousseau had, indeed, written "The Social Contract;" the notaries and notables of France were gathering in convention, ignorant and heedless of the titanic forces they were seeking to guide; and here and there men like Mirabeau, La Fayette, Montesquieu and Edmund Burke had begun to dream dreams, and to voice passionate aspirations, but democracy, as a fixed basis of government, had no place in the thoughts of men. It was not the people themselves whom these men feared. On the contrary, Hooper declares in one of his letters, "The people only want information to do right." The malign figure of the demagogue, the curse of free institutions, was creeping into political life, and these proud, erect, ingenuous men stood affrighted at the sinister apparition.

There is an element of infinite sadness in the attitude of all men who have lived through great revolutions. They have virtually lived in two worlds, and only those possessing the highest wisdom or the most

* Iredell, Vol. II, p. 196.

amazing thrift can survive the shock of the transition. The shores of every newly discovered continent of thought, the strand of every new era in civilization, are lined with the wrecks of earnest, high souled, inflexible natures, to whom the past of their love is all of life, and the voices of the present mere babbling and hollowness. Nor is their fancy wholly wrong. Great movements in society, like great changes in nature, are marked by crudity, violence and injustice. The creators of the French Revolution stood appalled before the devastating sweep of its renovating and purging flame. This generation in the South will never outgrow the horrors of the reconstruction period, when insolence and ignorance and crime, tossed to the surface by the mad waves of war, sat in high places and hurled taunts at the passing of a social order, consecrated by the life and death of a unique and beautiful race. None could then see the fair beginning of a larger and wider time. The years stretching between Yorktown and the adoption of the Federal Constitution are the critical years in our own history in state and nation. A potential nation, trembling with fear and doubt, was reaching out in all its parts after nationality and security, amid the jealous clash of selfish passions. All the old ties were loosened. New theories were being born, and flew through the land thick and fast. Some new ideas had gotten into the world, expansive, explosive in their nature, and they could not be exorcised or allayed. The giant Democracy was stirring his limbs to enter upon his heritage, parties were being born and professional politicians were becoming necessary. Heretofore men of talent rose above party, and dominated by virtue of individual excellence. Hereafter the party should dominate the man.

William Hooper and men of his type did not hesitate or cower before the strange, new, strenuous influences. Constructive, orderly by nature, they came to the front, and sought in purest patriotism to build up and organize affairs. Hooper himself was not a leader of men. Eloquent, impulsive, inflexible, stainless in honor, he had always been more admired and feared than followed, and was a mere child in the hands of a Napoleonic politician like Jefferson in the nation, or Willie Jones in North Carolina. But he plead with his old time power for his ideas. He wished to embellish the dawn of our state life with a policy of mercy and magnanimity toward the loyalists, but it was asking too much of the hot blood of the time, remembering ravaged homes, and ill-gotten gains, and shrewd, avaricious merchants whom Nash and Rutherford denounced as "Imps of Hell;" and the North Carolina Assembly rejected our virgin treaty wherein Great Britain sought to protect her devoted adherents. He was earnestly, even bitterly in favor of a more intimate union of the states, and plead vigorously for the ratification of the Federal Constitution in 1788.* His last letter to Iredell is a wail of regret that North Carolina had refused to enter the roof of the new nation whose birth he had so triumphantly predicted in his first letter written fourteen years before.† One year and four months later the step was taken, and he had the gratification of be-

* Great bitterness prevailed in this celebrated canvass. Mr. Hooper representing the Federalist ideas, and Major Macauley of Orange representing the Republican sentiment, actually came to blows in Hillsboro, and Mr. Hooper was slightly worsted. Iredell, Vol. 3, p. 170.

†The correspondence of Hooper and Iredell extends over a period of fourteen years, from April 26, 1774, to Sept. 2, 1788, and includes thirty-two letters from Hooper.

holding his state an integral part of the Federal Union. But his day of leadership was over. He lacked the degree of sympathy and faith in the blundering masses, and that almost divine penetration into the inevitable movement of popular government, necessary to a leader in such an age of social transition. A little more pliancy, a shade more discernment, a larger share of that sublime patience which can keep its faith through unpromising days, and await the unfailing rectitude of public impulse and the sober sense of maddened democracies, and William Hooper would have been the foremost man of his state. Let us be patient with him. Stouter hearts than his, after many years, have missed that deepest wisdom.

The correspondence between Iredell and Hooper ceases on September 22, 1788. The one is rising to fame and high office upon the Supreme Court bench of the United States, the other is passing away broken in mind and body. For some time the desire of life had been weakening in Hooper. The sight of a slowly dying old lady moves him to write: "God send that I and those I love may not linger out life in the habit of seeing death before our eyes without power to avail ourselves of his friendly offices." His fervent wish was not to be realized either in his own person or in the lives of his posterity, all of whom lived to great ages, and the latest of whom, a sweet, high-minded, "other-worldly" woman has just passed to her reward at the age of seventy-five.*

In alternate labor and illness, cheered by his heroic wife, the two years pass on, and on Monday night, October 14, 1790, in his forty-eighth year, on the date

* Mary Elisabeth Hooper—his great-grand-daughter, died June 2, 1894.

preceding the date fixed for the marriage of his only daughter, his life goes out in unspeakable gloom and sadness. For one hundred and four years he has slept in the quiet church-yard at the ancient capitol of Hillsboro. Now he sleeps here, on the field where the great Declaration was translated by valor into fact, cared for by reverent patriotism and immortal with his brothers in civic and martial fame.* An unbroken line of distinguished and useful men has kept his name fresh and honored in our annals for three generations—A. M. Hooper, scholar and gentleman, Johnston Hooper, author and humorist, Doctor William Hooper, divine, educator, and, *juvile princeps*, the foremost prose writer yet born in the state; and John DeBerniere Hooper, accomplished Greek scholar, whose classic face and beautiful character are held in tender reverence by all University men.

Let me not conclude without speaking of Mr. Hooper as a man. No more fascinating and courtly figure graces the life of our simple, earnest past. His slight, fragile form, his serene, beautiful face wherein is blended masculine strength and womanly sweetness, "a face that painters love to limn and ladies to look upon," stands out, like some finely wrought cameo, against a background of chaos and revolution. In his letters we catch a glimpse of the ceremoniousness, the sleepless deference, the delicate punctilio of an unhurrying age; in his merry-makings we are able to reproduce the stately minuet, the vanished draperies, the personal

*Mr. Hooper was buried in the garden of his residence, lately the residence of the Hon. Wm. A. Graham. This garden afterward became a part of the Presbyterian Churchyard. His remains were removed to Guilford Battle Ground, at the request of Judge Schenck, April 25, 1894.

royalty expressing itself in stately dignity, of a time forever gone. He was a tender, sensitive, loyal, happy gentleman, a fearless, forceful, vigorous minded citizen, a great orator—a great lawyer; he loved his friends and was by them beloved. Mr. Hooper could never have been very popular. He had a habit of being cold and disdainful at times, and his graces and gifts set him somewhat apart.

The great popular leader is the people incarnate. In him the people see themselves, their weaknesses, their aspirations, gifted, glorified, lifted up. The sight of such a man thrills and fascinates the multitude. He soothes their vanity, he touches their loftier life, he quickens their dull senses and wakes to life their slumbering ambitions. Swift, resistless, chords of sympathy and love bind together the hushed throng and their articulate voice, and his name is instinct with magic power forever. When he dies the little children cry in the streets, and around fire-sides his story is told, and to future generations the spell of his name lingers.

Hooper was not such a man—the age somehow did not breed them. He loved the people of his state and was willing to spend himself in their service, but he was restive under criticism, resentful of distrust, unbending in opinion. He had that proud faith in family and breeding, which, though it hindered him from seeing the splendid justice of democracy, taught him the sacredness of *noblesse oblige*, unfailing self-respect and freedom from sordidness or any sort of stain.

The age in which William Hooper played his part will always be invested with a peculiar and heroic grandeur. It was an age of ideas, of moral earnestness, of unpurchasable integrity, of faith in God. It was a critical, inquiring age, seeking to find out and

formulate the sum of human rights, and to incorporate them into the framework of the State. The men of the time did their work with conscientious thoroughness, but happily there is no one exclusive epoch of unselfish, patriotic service. Though a brilliant century of intellectual audacity has swept the world into a grander day, there is still work for men to do, not so thrilling and dramatic, perhaps, but no less vital and far-reaching. The founders discovered, defined and inaugurated. It is ours to interpret, to administer, to perpetuate. They set the child Self-Government, timorous and cowering, in the midst of the nations. It is ours to guard and direct and restrain the boundless strength of that same old child, grown into noble and puissant statue with continents for his throne. "Wherever party spirit shall set its decrees above the ancient guarantees of freedom;" wherever corruption shall seek to weaken national vigor; wherever intolerance and ignorance shall dominate free thought and enlightenment; wherever anarchy shall hiss and stab; there may modern minute-men and Sons of Liberty repeat the glories of their ancestry. In the closing years of the eighteenth century, the great army of humanity marching to higher things kept step to the music of the passionate outcries of liberty, freedom and equality. It is our part, in a land and an age where these cries are facts of life and law, to teach the beauty of peace, to promote the education of all men and to illustrate the majesty of republican citizenship.

And now my task is done. God-like and famous forever among men are the founders of states. So thought and said the great Roman orator, as he gazed upon the marble beauty of the imperial city. Hooper, Harvey, Caswell, Johnston, Jones, Ashe, Iredell, and their co-

laborers were state builders. Their passions, their purposes, their convictions, their dreams are molten in the frame and model of North Carolina. Let us hope and believe that their spirits hovering upon some mount of faith see it to-day beneath this summer-sun—a shining stretch of bright waters, golden harvest-fields, teeming orchards and happy homes—a steadfast commonwealth—girt about with beneficent laws and institutions, ministered to by the love and wisdom of a free and undegenerate posterity—stainless still in honor, fruitful still in noble deeds.

APPENDIX.



APPENDIX.

GEORGE HOOPER.

Very little is known of two of the children of the Rev. William Hooper of Boston. John, the second son, died unmarried, and Mary, the only daughter, became Mrs. Spence.

George Hooper, the ancestor of A. M. Hooper, George D. Hooper, John DeBerniere Hooper and Johnston J. Hooper, had a singular career during the Revolution. Notwithstanding the fact that he was son-in-law and brother of eminent patriots, and that he was appointed by Richard Caswell, in 1778,[†] Clerk of the Superior Court for the Wilmington District, he remained a staunch loyalist throughout the war period. Though some coolness and estrangement naturally arose between him and his brother, and his patriot friends, Iredell and Johnston, he seems to have retained their love and confidence as a man of sincerity, uprightness and courage of conviction. There was even genuine affection between him and his irascible father-in-law, Archibald MacLaine. He was a merchant by profession, carrying on his business with profit in Wilmington and Charleston. Mrs. Haines Waddell (née Flemming) writes thus of her grandfather: "He was calm, consistent and lovely in character. Cousin George considered him equal in talent and literary taste to either one of his brothers." His place of burial is unknown.

Thomas Hooper, youngest brother of the Signer, is buried at Stateburg, South Carolina. He was a successful merchant in Charleston S. C. This inscription is on his tombstone:

"In this tomb are deposited the remains of

THOS. HOOPER, ESQ.,

Who died August 1, 1798

In the 48th year of his age.

The many Virtues he possessed

Endeared him to all who knew him

And as a Good Citizen, an Excellent

[†]N. C. Gazette, Jan. 23, 1778.

Friend and a Kind Relation
His loss is sincerely regretted.

His afflicted widow has caused this stone to be erected
In memory of his virtues and of her affection.

"Ah what avails it dear departed shade
That grief with rending sighs the heart invades.
Upon the silent tomb in vain I call
Thy spirit's fled to God, the God of ail."

WILLIAM HOOPER, D. D., LL. D.

There are no descendants of William Hooper, the Signer, except those of his grandson, the late Rev. William Hooper of North Carolina. Wm. Hooper, the third, was born in Hillsboro Aug. 31, 1792. His mother, née Helen Hogg, lost her husband, William Hooper, the second, in early life and became the wife of the Rev. Dr. Joseph Caldwell, President of the University. William was brought to Chapel Hill at the age of twelve years and received the degree of Bachelor of Arts in 1809. In 1814 he married Frances P. Jones, daughter of Edward Jones, Solicitor General of North Carolina. The record of his life shows a varied and versatile career.

1817-1822 Professor of Ancient Languages in the University of North Carolina.

1822-1825 Rector of St. John's Protestant Episcopal Church in Fayetteville, N. C.

1825-1827 Professor of Rhetoric and Logic, University of North Carolina.

1827-1837 Professor of Ancient Languages, University of North Carolina.

1837-1831 Professor Hooper left the Episcopal Church and joined the Baptist Church.

1838-1840 Professor of Theology in Furman Institute, South Carolina.

1840-1846 Professor of Roman Literature in University of South Carolina at Columbia, acting, at one time, as President, *pro tempore*.

1846-1848 President of Wake Forest College, North Carolina.

Between this time and the civil war, Doctor Hooper taught in a High School for boys at Littleton, was pastor of a Baptist Church at Newbern, and President of Chowan Female Institute.

During the war he was connected with a school for young women in Fayetteville, N. C. From the close of the war until 1875 he was

co-principal of the Wilson Collegiate Seminary. In 1875 Dr. Hooper returned to Chapel Hill in company with his son-in-law, Professor J. DeB. Hooper, who had been chosen to the chair of the Greek and French languages. He died at the scene of his early labors, August 19, 1876 and was buried, at his request, by the side of his mother and President Caldwell in the University Campus.

Dr. Hooper became distinguished throughout the South for scholarship, eloquence and literary ability. Unfortunately he published no large book, contenting himself with numerous sermons, addresses and newspaper articles.

His address, "Fifty Years Since," delivered before a brilliant audience at the University in 1859, has power to charm and delight the reader after a lapse of forty years. It gives evidence of rare literary taste and touch, is overflowing with delicious humor and gives forth on every page the fine flavor of genuine learning and power.*

LIST OF ASSEMBLIES TO WHICH WILLIAM HOOPER WAS ELECTED, FROM 1773 TO 1786.

COLONIAL ASSEMBLIES.

Newbern,	January 25, 1773,	March 9,	member from	Campbelltown.
"	Dec. 4, 1773,	Dec. 21,	" "	New Hanover.
"	March 2, 1774,	March 30,	" "	"
"	April 4, 1775,	April 8,	" "	"

PROVINCIAL CONGRESSES.

Newbern,	August 25, 1774,	August 27,	member from	New Hanover.
"	April 3, 1775,	April 7,	" "	"
Hillsboro,	August 20,	Sept. 10,	" "	"
Halifax,	April 3, 1776,	May 14,	" "	Wake.
"	Nov. 12, 1776,	Dec. 23,	" "	Wilmington.
(Did not attend.)				

CONTINENTAL CONGRESSES

Philadelphia,	Sept. 5, 1774,	Oct. 26,	member from	North Carolina.
Philadelphia,	May 10, 1776,	July 4, 1776,	" "	"

*I am greatly indebted to Mrs. Spier Whitaker, of Raleigh, the great-great-grand-daughter of the Signer for most of the genealogical information contained in this paper.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED COLONIES.

Philadelphia, July 4, 1776. April 27, 1777, resigned.

GENERAL ASSEMBLIES OF NORTH CAROLINA.

Newbern, April 8, 1777, House of Commons, New Hanover,	
“ April 14, 1778, “ “ Wilmington,	
“ Aug. 8, second session “ “	
“ April 14, 1779, third session, “ “	
Smithfield, May 3, 1779, first session, “ “	
Halifax, Oct. 18, 1779, second session, “ “	
Newbern, April, 17, 1780, “ “	
Wake Court House, June 1, 1781, “ “	
Hillsboro, April 13, 1782,* “ “	
Hillsboro, April 18 1783, “ “	
Hillsboro, April 19, 1784, “ Orange,	
Newbern, Oct. 22, second session, “ “	
Fayetteville, Nov. 18, 1786, “ “	

LIST OF COMMITTEES TO WHICH HOOPER BELONGED.

COLONIAL ASSEMBLIES.

Session held at Newbern, Jan. 25, 1773, March 9, 1773.

1. Chairman of committee to prepare answer to Governor's speech. This is the first bit of Hooper's writing we have.† It does not differ
†Col. Rec. Vol. 9, p. 454.

materially from the smooth, lofty, rather grandiose talk of the time, abounding in formalities and loyalty, but failing to conceal the mailed hand in the velvet glove.

2. Chairman of committee to report bill to establish Superior Courts.

3. Committee to report bill to establish Inferior Courts.

4. Committee to report what laws are expired and what should be amended and continued.

5. To appoint sheriffs and coroners and direct their duty in office.

6. Committee on state of sinking fund.

First Session at Newbern, Dec. 4, 1773—Dec. 21, 1773.

1. Chairman of committee to petition King to repeal acts preventing our money from being a legal tender.

*Elected unsolicited by a tie vote, 13 out of 25, over Maj. Walker, of Wilmington.

2. Committee to prepare answer to Governor's address.
3. Judiciary committee.
4. Committee to establish Superior Courts.
5. Committee of correspondence.

Second Session of this Assembly, March 2—March 30, 1774.

1. Chairman of committee to prepare answer to Governor's address.*
Col. Rec. Vol. 9, p. 879. A very fine document.
2. Committee on court bill.
3. Committee to petition King to annul act preventing our paper money from being a legal tender.

PROVINCIAL CONGRESSES.

Second Provincial Congress, Newbern, April 3-7, 1775.

1. Committee on public claims.
2. Committee to answer Governor's address. This paper was a fine document. See Col. Rec. V, 9, p. 1205.

Third Provincial Congress, Hillsboro, Aug. 20—Sept. 10, 1775.

1. Chairman of committee to prepare test oath to be signed by members.
2. To prepare address to inhabitants of the British Empire. Notable paper of the time.*
3. To prepare an address to the people of North Carolina ascribing the silence of legislative power to Governor's flight.†
4. To prepare a plan for the temporary government of the Province. This was the most important committee yet appointed by popular authority in our annals.

Fourth Provincial Congress, Halifax, April 4, 1776.

1. Chairman of Committee to prepare Province for war.
2. Committee on war, secrecy and intelligence.
3. Committee to prepare temporary civil constitution.
4. Committee to propose a temporary form of government for this province.
5. Committee to consider and report business to be carried through Congress.

*Col. Rec., Vol. 10, p. 201.

†Col. Rec. V, 10, p. 174.

COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS OF HOOPER IN CONTINENTAL CONGRESSES.

Journals of Congress, 1774. Volume I.

September 14, 1774. William Hooper and Joseph Hewes, esquires, two of the deputies from North Carolina, attended the Congress, and produced their credentials. p. 9.

Sept. 14, 1774. Ordered. That William Hooper and Joseph Hewes, esqrs. from North Carolina, be added to the committee appointed to state the rights of the colonies. p. 9.

Sept. 14, 1774. Ordered. That William Hooper, esq. be one of the committee appointed to report the statutes, which affect the trade, &c. of the colonies. p. 9.

June 7, 1775, The Congress met. On motion, Resolved, That Thursday the 20th of July next, 1775, be observed throughout the twelve United Colonies, as a day of humiliation, fasting and prayer and that Mr. Hooper, Mr. J. Adams and Mr. Paine, be a committee to bring in a resolve for that purpose. p. 79.

November, 3, 1775, The Congress then, taking into consideration the State of South Carolina, and sundry papers relative thereto, being read and considered,

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed to take the same into consideration, and report what, in their opinion, is necessary to be done.

The members chosen, Mr. Harrison, Mr. Bullock, Mr. Hooper, Mr. Chase and Mr. S. Adams. p. 162.

November, 16, 1775. Sundry papers from the general assembly of the colony of Massachusetts-Bay, being laid before Congress and read,

Resolved, That these be referred to a committee of seven.

The members chosen, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Sherman, Mr. W. Livingston, Mr. Ward, Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Hooper and Mr. Harrison. p. 176.

November, 27, 1775, Resolved, That three members be elected on committee to settle disputes between Connecticut and Pennsylvania.

The members chosen, Mr. Wythe, Mr. Jay and Mr. Hooper. p. 185.

December 13, 1775. Resolved, That when this Congress shall adjourn, it will be necessary to appoint a committee to sit during the adjournment for the purpose of superintending the treasury, carrying on necessary correspondence, and such other services as shall be directed by Congress.

Resolved, that a committee of five be appointed to consider and prepare instructions for the committee above-mentioned. The members chosen, Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Hooper, Dr. Franklin, Mr. Jay, and Mr. Deane. p. 206, 207.

December 16, 1775. A petition from sundry merchants of Philadelphia, was presented and read:

Resolved, that the same be referred to a committee of three. The members chosen, Mr. Morris, Mr. Jefferson, and Mr. Hooper. p. 209.

December 22, 1775, Resolved, That Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Hooper, Dr. Franklin, Mr. Jay, and Mr. Deane, be a committee to examine the journals and lay before Congress a list of the matters therein that are unfinished, and which are proper to be acted upon. pp 213-214.

December 26, 1775. The reports of the committees on general Schuyler's letters, and the report of the committees sent to Ticonderoga, being read,

Resolved, That the same be recommitted to Mr. Dickinson, Mr. McKean, Mr. Wythe, Mr. Hooper, Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Langdon. p. 216.

December 30, 1775. Two letters from general Washington, of the 19th and 21st, enclosing a copy of a letter to general Howe, and accompanied with a number of intercepted letters, being received and read.

Resolved, That the letters from the general, and the intercepted letters be referred to a committee of five.

The members chosen, Mr. Duane, Mr. Lynch, Mr. Hooper, Mr. Wythe, and Mr. S. Adams. p. 219.

January 10, 1776. Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed to take into consideration the state of these colonies, and report as soon as possible what number of forces, in their opinion, will be necessary for the defence of the same.

The members chosen, Mr. Duane, Mr. Lynch, Mr. Hooper, Mr. E. Rutledge, and Mr. Wilson. p. 233.

January 17, 1776, A petition from Dr. Benjamin Church was presented to Congress, and said:

Resolved, That the same be referred to a committee of three. The members chosen, Mr. Harrison Mr. Paca, and Mr. Hooper. p. 238.

Jan. 22, 1776, Resolved, that sundry letters from Gen. Washington, Lord Sterling, etc., be referred to a committee of three. The members chosen, Mr. W. Livingston, Mr. Hooper, and Mr. Adams, p. 244.

January 22, 1776, Resolved, that a committee of three be appointed to consider a proper method of paying a just tribute of gratitude to the memory of general Montgomery. The members chosen, Mr. Livingston, Dr. Franklin, and Mr. Hooper. p. 244

January 24, 1776, Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed to prepare an address to the inhabitants of the United Colonies. The members chosen, Mr. Dickinson, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Hooper, Mr. Duane, and Mr. Alexander. p. 146.

August 20, 1776, A letter of the 18th from general Washington, with sundry papers enclosed, was laid before Congress and read:

Resolved that the same be referred to a committee of five: The

members chosen, Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Franklin, Mr. Rutledge, Mr. J. Adams, and Mr. Hooper. p. 449.

August 23^d, 1776. A letter from Mr. Temple, of Charlestown, in Massachusetts Bay, was laid before Congress and read:

Resolved, That it be referred to a committee of three. The members chosen, Mr. Hooper, Mr. Heyward, and Mr. Stone. p. 453.

August 27, 1776. Resolved, That four members be added to revise the journals, that any two be a quorum. The members chosen, Mr. Heyward, Mr. Hooper, Mr. Williams, and Mr. Walton. p. 457.

September 3, 1776. The Board of War brought in a report, which was read:

Resolved, That two members be added to the committee for regulating the post office. The members chosen, Mr. Hooper, and Mr. Huntington. p. 464.

September 11, 1776. A letter, of the 7th, from Joseph Trumbull, esq., commissary-general, with sundry papers enclosed, was read.

Resolved, That it be referred to a committee of three and that they be directed and empowered to enquire into the conduct of Mr. Livingston, deputy commissary-general, in the northern department. The members chosen, Mr. Lee, Mr. Hooper, and Mr. Sherman. p. 471.

September 23, 1776. Resolved, That two members be added to the committee on the treasury: The ballots being taken, Mr. Hooper, and Mr. Ellery were elected. p. 449.

September 27, 1776. Certain resolutions of the convention of New York, passed the 20th of this month, being laid before Congress.

Ordered that they be referred to a committee of three. The members chosen, Mr. McKean, Mr. Rutledge and Mr. Hooper. p. 501.

October 1, 1776. Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed to prepare and bring in a plan of a military academy at the army. The members chosen, Mr. Hooper, Mr. Lynch, Mr. Wythe, Mr. Williams and Mr. J. Adams. p. 503.

October, 11, 1776. Resolved, That three members be added to the committee of Secret Correspondence. The members chosen, Mr. R. H. Lee, Mr. Witherspoon and Mr. Hooper. p. 514.

November 4, 1776. Resolved, That Mr. Hooper be added to the committee to whom Mr. Bache's letter was referred, and that the said committee be directed to meet on that business this evening at this place. (A special committee of three appointed for this purpose.) p. 536.

November 7, 1776. An appeal having been lodged with the secretary against the sentence passed in the court of admiralty, for the port of Philadelphia, in the State of Pennsylvania, on the libel "John Barry, &c. vs. the sloop Betsy, &c."

Ordered. That the hearing and determining upon the said appeal be referred to a committee of five. The members chosen, Mr. Wythe, M. Paine, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Hooper, and Mr. Rutledge. p. 541.

Nov. 18, 1776. A letter from Juliana Zedwitz was read and referred to the committee on the state of prisoners.

Resolved, That a member be added to the said committee, and that they be directed to take into consideration the case of Lieutenant M'Lean who was sent to Philadelphia by General Wooster. The member chosen. Mr. Hooper. p. 551.

November 27. An appeal having been lodged against the sentence passed in the court of admiralty for the State of Virginia, on the libel, "Levin Jones, &c., vs. the sloop Vulcan,"

Resolved, That the hearing and determining the said appeal be referred to Mr. Wythe, Mr. Paine, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Hooper and Mr. Chase. p. 562.

November 27, 1776. Resolved. That three members be added to the committee appointed to revise the resolutions relative to captures. The members chosen. Mr. Wilson, Mr. Hooper and Mr. Chase. p. 562.

December 21, 1776. Resolved. That Mr. Hooper be empowered to examine into the state of the North Carolina prisoners, and have such of them as are sick removed to a private house and kept under guard, and that he provide a physician to attend them. p. 581.

December 31, 1776. A letter from William Kennon, of North Carolina to Gen. Lee was read.

Ordered that it be referred to a committee of three. The members chosen, Mr. Hooper, Mr. Heyward, Mr. Harrison. p. 588.

February 4, 1777. Resolved. That Dr. Burke be added to the medical committee, and that he be appointed a member of the marine committee, in the room of Mr. Hooper.

Ordered. Mr. Hooper have leave to return home. p. 31. Vol. II.

June 2, 1777. Note received from North Carolina stating that on July 4, 1777, T. Burke, John Penn and C. Harnett had been appointed delegates. p. 147.

December 23, 1776. Agreeable to the order of the day, Congress elected the Rev. Mr. P. Allison, and the Rev. Mr. W. White, chaplains.

Ordered. That Mr. Witherspoon, Mr. S. Adams and Mr. Hooper inform the said gentlemen of their appointment, and desire their attendance.









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